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HISTORY OF ITALY

DURING THE CONSULATE AND EMPIRE

OF

NAPOLEON BUONAPARTE,

TRANSLATED FROM THE ITALIAN OF

CARLO BOTTA,

BY THE AUTHOR OF "THE LIFE OF JOANNA, QUEEN OF NAPLES."

IN TWO VOLUMES.

VOL. I.

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"The History of Italy, from 1794 to 1814, is one of the finest subjects of modern times; the ideal is there combined with the positive."—
Stendhal's Sketches of Italy.

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PREFACE.

THE translation which is now presented to the public comprises nine only of the twenty-seven books of Botta's History of Italy in our own times. The original work naturally divides itself into two portions; the first beginning at the period of the beneficent reign of Leopold, in Tuscany, to which the historian so often and so fondly reverts; and ending in the last days of the corrupt and feeble Directory of France. The second portion, which contains the history of Italy during the consulate and empire of Napoleon, from 1799 to 1814, is here chosen, partly because it consists of but little more than a fourth of the whole work; the taste of the day being decidedly against voluminous reading; many entering with pleasure on the contents of

two volumes who would turn with disgust from eight; and partly because the extraordinary character of "the man of destiny" is no where more fully developed, nor his *actions* more impartially related. In the pages of the modern Guicciardini facts are related with scrupulous fidelity; but the bias of his mind is sometimes perceptible in the motives he attributes to the actors in his great tragedy; and certain it is, that whatever good he may occasionally describe as the result of the actions of Napoleon, he never on any occasion traces their source to an impulse of virtue or generosity. It is also remarkable on the other hand, that his eloquent encomiums of the mighty genius of Napoleon are rarely given in the person of the author, but are attributed to the public at large. These, however, are swelled to a pitch of extravagance that seems like hyperbole to those who have lived out of the immediate scene, where every mind was subdued by the force of his genius, or intimidated by a superstitious dread of his fortune.

The writer seems panic-struck when brought back by his historical labours to live over again, in thought, those days when "*the fatal Napoleon*" was "*the umpire of fortune.*" Perhaps, in the present state of continental Europe, he dared not pledge his own opinions; for the vivid picture he has drawn of the powers of his wonderful theme; and, unwilling as an orator to forego the awe-inspiring effect it produces, he has adopted this mode of conveying it to posterity. An Italian mind could, perhaps, best comprehend and depict the irregular character of Napoleon, where the extremes of sublimity and meanness not unfrequently meet; for his transports of rage, his fond attachments, his imperious pride, his soft and kindly manner, his craft, his contemptuous sarcasm, his subtle flattery, his fixedness of purpose, and continual change of plan, —breaking, like the Epicurean, as he ascended, every step of the ladder by which he mounted to a dizzing height over the dark and troubled abyss of anarchy and revolution, are all to be

found in the character of the country from which he derived his origin. Napoleon was but in fact on a gigantic scale, one of the Condottieri of earlier Italy; leading on by his personal influence bands gathered from all nations, rushing on without magazines and without pay; rapid victories cementing their allegiance; hope their support, and success their guerdon. In Italy were his earliest laurels won; in Italy he gained the sceptre over his fellow men; and whilst his own entrance into that gifted land, whose destiny it has been, in every age, to sway or to delight the world, resembles a tale of romance, the road he has made for others to traverse into Italy is one of his most enduring boasts.

The broad facts of this unequalled period of excitement and of reverses we know and we deplore: the banished men who crowd the shores, yet cannot weary the generosity, of Britain, are here to take up the tale of frustrated hopes and defeated rights. In reading coolly the detail of the times in which they were reared,

of the wrongs by which their country bled, and of the opinions which moderate men are obliged to form from the facts which history has to recount, we shall see the human mind displayed in all its varieties.

Botta, like too many of the most accomplished and the most virtuous of his countrymen, is virtually an exile, residing at Paris; and, like too many of the still noble and once affluent princes of the land which has ever been considered the boast of nature, is said to be indebted to the generosity of his friends for such comforts as an Italian can enjoy out of his own idolized Italy; where luxuries, such as wealth cannot create elsewhere, are the inheritance of all; where the wonders of art are the delight of every eye; the perfection of music is poured forth on every ear, and where many who live but to breathe the air of its balmy clime, find its tranquilizing influence a substitute for happiness, or a neutralizer of care.

Our Italian historian was busily engaged in

the scenes he describes during the whole of the momentous period of which his history treats. He was born in 1766, in the town of San Giorgio, in Piedmont, and took his degrees as a physician at the University of Turin. In 1792 he was arrested as an advocate of republican principles; but as nothing serious was proved against him, he was liberated after a short imprisonment. In 1794 he took refuge in the Cisalpine territory, as the French conquerors then termed Lombardy, and was thence sent with the French forces in his medical capacity to Corfu. He returned to Italy with the Italian army in 1796, and on the forced abdication of the King of Sardinia in 1798 was appointed by Joubert a member of the provisional government. His enemies, on the authority of the Moniteur of the 8th of March, 1799, accuse him of having being one of the three commissioners (Bossi and Colla were his alleged coadjutors) who proposed the annexation of Piedmont to France, but of this he says nothing in his history, and indirectly

apologizes for whatever may have been the errors of his political conduct. Thus, if any members of the provisional government were influenced by ambition, they were not long in discovering the bitterness of serving under foreign masters. For in a short time, not by their own misconduct, but from the miserable circumstances of the period, they lost at once the confidence of their own countrymen, and the friendship of the stranger. Fatal times! in which ancient governments were destroyed from mad rage, and the honoured name of the worthy was vilified in order to reduce all men to the same level. This provisional government, however, lasted but a few months, and on the return of Suwarrow in 1799, Botta was obliged to seek an asylum in France. When the battle of Marengo had restored the French dominion in Italy, Botta, with Carlo Bossi, an advocate, and Carlo Giulio, likewise a physician, was appointed to govern Piedmont, under the name of an executive commission. This triumvirate, having all unfortunately the same christian name

of the deposed king, were held up to ridicule under the familiar appellation of "*I tre Carli*," some malicious wit having made them the subject of the following epigram:

> "Le Piedmont versait des Larmes,
> Lorsque Charles etait son roi;
> Quels pleurs et quels alarmes,
> A present qu'il en a trois."

Ranza, the Cobbett of Italy, attacked them unceasingly in prose; and Calvo, the Fontaine of the Piedmontese dialect, wrote a bitter satire against them, in revenge for a few days' imprisonment, taking for his motto *Ne sutor ultra crepidam*; and from the reiterated complaints he makes of the impossibility of governing Piedmont at this time, perhaps the historical physician was but too well convinced of the picture of the epigraph, and was not sorry to be relieved from his responsibility, when in 1802 the second provisional government of which he had been a member was set aside by the annexation of Piedmont to France. Bossi and Giulio were

made prefects; Botta was appointed a member of the new legislative council, as representative for the department of the Dora, and in 1808 became its vice-president. However, as, like other representatives and legislators under Napoleon, his office was a mere sinecure, he employed his leisure in writing his history of the American war, published in 1810, which all parties of his countrymen unite in admiring, and which the Americans cite as the best account that has yet appeared of that contest. During this period he received the order of the Legion of Honour.

In 1814 Botta, taking advantage of his privilege as a French citizen, again retired to France, where he obtained an employment under Louis the Eighteenth. Unfortunately for him, the reign of the hundred days did not pass over without bestowing on him further promotion, and, in consequence, on the return of the King of France he was deprived of his office. He has, notwithstanding, been permitted to reside at Paris, where he composed and published his recent works, and

is now engaged in writing the History of Italy from the time of Guicciardini to the period when the beautiful work he has completed commences.

There are few works whose sustained prolixity suggests more comprehensive and intricate views of the march of events than this of Botta: he seems to have written with the skill of an epic poet the rapid varieties of subject which history unfolds. He loves to mingle the minutiæ of the midnight fray, the brilliancy of the fête, the horrors of the Lazar house, with the complex detail of state policy: the attention is almost wearied with expanded views and local regulations, when some trifling appeal to universal nature, some identifying touch, comes suddenly before us. The sugar plums of famishing Genoa, the hymn of the Tyrolese, the opera of Valetta, the sarcastic turn of his own thought, break into his subject like sunshine on the scene, and reanimate the picture: he is a deep master of irony, which is often suggested rather than

expressed; and his covert smile is keenly felt under some unassuming phrase or short expressive comment. He is of that race of men, of warm and vivid fancies, with whom a shrug is of more eloquence than the harangue of other lands; a gesture, or an intonation, the quintessence of passion, and the revealing of thought. All is rapid, keen, sententious when opinion or sentiment is in question; while all is laboured into distinctness where facts are to be related. People more used to affairs would not need such long explanations; but it is written by a native of the land of idleness and of thought, where to understand *things* is difficult, but to catch the most hidden turns of mind is the habit of every hour.

A few words remain to be said for the translation. As the work is chiefly valuable as the record of the opinions of the moderate men of continental Europe as corrected by experience, scrupulous fidelity has chiefly been aimed at by the translator, who on all occasions has endea-

voured to render the exact shade of praise or censure, and the epithets of the original simply. If this fidelity could compass the tragic effect, the pathos, the terse sarcasm of the original, there would be little more to desire; but to cope at once with the style of Botta, and the flexible and glowing language of Italy, is no easy task. Should, however, the public favour the present attempt, the translator may probably be induced to offer at, a future period, the previous books to its approbation.

HISTORY OF ITALY.

CHAPTER I.

State of France after the loss of Italy.—General discontent, and complaints of the people against the government.—Universal desire for the return of Buonaparte.—His arrival from Egypt.—Puts an end to the Directory.—Assumes the supreme authority under the title of First Consul.—Turns his thoughts to the conquest of Italy.—Effects a reconciliation with the Emperor Paul, but cannot procure peace with Austria or England.—His vast designs.—Siege of Genoa.—Brave defence of Massena.—That city surrendered to the Austrians.

IN the present century, an age of violence, of ambition, and of pride, Europe has been doomed to pass through the two worst extremes that can afflict the human race, with the ultimate result of being left incapable of enjoying mild and liberal institutions. From the commencement of the Fench Revolution to the period of the Egyptian campaign, it had been convulsed by an unbridled

license assuming the name of liberty, which it was then fated to exchange for an oppressive despotism, under the title of an imperial government. The situation of the French Directory in the year 1799 was one of extreme difficulty. France was disturbed by the fermentation of various parties, all inimical to the existing government: the French nation, naturally impatient under a reverse of fortune, was at this time rendered still more impatient by the memory of former victories; and, to sooth their own self-love, the people imputed the blame of their recent defeats to the errors of their rulers. Complaints of their conduct were heard on every side, and the best that was said for them was, that they knew not how to govern; for some accused them of treachery, and others, of having divided the booty with those by whose robberies the soldiery had been reduced to such penury that victory was rendered impossible. That enthusiasm which had at first been felt for the three new directors had been entirely destroyed by the last defeats.

In the legislative council there reigned, as usual, the perverse ambition of embarrassing the govern-

ment, in order to attain to the Directorial seats, and from this motive its members thwarted the Directory in every measure alike, whether good or bad; and thus there was no longer any means or possibility of governing. The new conscripts would not march; the veteran soldiers deserted on account of the shortness of their pay; the taxes could not be collected; every nerve was wanting. Civil war lacerated the western provinces; party spirit divided the southern: in politics some advocated extreme opinions, others embraced the more moderate; many who well knew whither these wishes tended, and more yet who knew not what they looked for, further than change, desired an alteration in the government. And this alteration was inevitable, for no government in France can resist the effect of military reverses, if at the same time the press be free, and discussion unrestrained. The military faction, who ill brooked to see the nation ruled by the civil robe, and whom none but a martial government could please, looked around to see if any banner inviting to change was unfolded to the restless air, round which they might rally as a common centre, proposing to

subdue, first the government by the name of liberty, and then the people by the name of glory. These things were clearly perceived by the prudent, the enemies of license; nor were they less clearly seen by the factious, the friends of tyranny; and both hoped to turn them to their own designs.

In this conjuncture, the name of Buonaparte, so glorious to France—so fearful to her enemies, arose to the minds of all. He alone, said they, can restore health to the afflicted state, or bring its tempest-driven fortunes into safe harbour. He alone can give fresh verdure to the drooping laurels of the desolated republic; and his arm alone can regain the much-coveted provinces of unhappy Italy. Treachery, or incapacity, has sullied the name of France by unnumbered defeats; and already Europe, so often vanquished, threatens to attack even the proper soil of her victors. He alone, the conqueror of Italy, ever equal to himself, has chained victory to the republican banners on distant and barbarous shores. The fame of his triumphs in Egypt affords some consolation for the disasters in Europe. It is now to be seen

how much one man may be able to effect for the safety of the state, attacked by such overpowering force; and since Joubert is dead, and Moreau and Massena are unequal to the task, why should we not call to the aid of the sinking country Buonaparte, the matchless? In others there is courage—in others talent; but the mind which subjugates fortune, the commanding intellect which binds every will to one noble and exalted end, dwells only in Buonaparte: he only can moderate and restrain discordant opinions, and baneful suspicions. Let us prove, therefore, how much may be accomplished by a mind thus powerful, and by fortune thus constant:—with the conqueror of Italy the republic prospered; deprived of him, she has fallen; with the hero of Italy and of Egypt she shall rise anew. In this manner there arose in France an intense desire for the presence of the unconquered captain. The lovers of military glory turned to him, as capable of restoring its lustre: those corrupted by the appetite of command and of plunder, because they hoped to regain, through him, the opportunities of oppression and peculation: the enemies of licentiousness

desired him, because they knew he was adverse to it himself, and was strong enough to restrain it; the enemies of civil war believed that he could quell that evil; the ardent republicans doubted not that he would set aside the Directory; the moderate republicans believed that he would establish a regulated freedom; the learned, and men of letters, hoped for his patronage; the philosophers favoured him, because they knew he thought freely on religious subjects, and believed him a friend to civil liberty; the secret partizans of loyalty, because he had succeeded in persuading them (at least so it was reported, and even some overtures had been made to that effect) that he would consent to the return of the Bourbons, and to the restoration of their ancient authority in France. Every one, therefore, expected to find a saviour in him—every one desired his return, to redeem their afflicted country. This affection towards him had arisen, partly from the defeats that had been sustained, partly from the splendour of his own victories, partly from the artifices he and his partizans had practised so dexterously, that every man believed that his own peculiar

objects were exactly those which Buonaparte would labour to effect. So great is the efficacy of ambiguous language in civil discords, because the differing factions have no communication with each other; or, if they have, they yield no faith to the representations of their political opponents; and he who stands above them all may flatter them—may wind them about, and delude them at will. If, among madmen, the cautious can do so much, how much more may not the artful man effect, whose caution has double force? and Buonaparte was, to a supreme degree, astute. In fine, the material of power was well prepared, and waited but to receive from his hand whatever form he should be pleased to impress it with. As soon, therefore, as the intelligence of the first disasters in Italy had been received, there had arisen amongst the lovers of change the idea of bringing back Buonaparte from Egypt, which gained fresh strength, and instant means were sought for its execution, on the news of the death of Joubert at the battle of Novi. In this design, the director Sieyes concurred, because his penetrating judgment enabled him to perceive that the state

could no longer hold together under the present form of government: Barras, also a director, favoured it, partly from ancient friendship for Buonaparte, partly from the hope of the restoration of the Bourbons. All the surviving generals of the army of Italy, except Massena, who was never well inclined towards Buonaparte; and, lastly, his two brothers, Joseph and Lucien, who were aspiring to power, sought equally to effect it. The conduct of Lucien Buonaparte was well adapted to promote the desired end: to his friends he represented that as it was impossible to live under the present government, another should be formed; to the public he depicted in lively colours, first the glories, and then the disasters of the Italian campaigns; and bewailed the fate of the Cisalpine republic oppressed by the tyranny of Trouvé and Rivaud. He eulogised and patronised Italy; and he preached the restoration of the liberty of France, trampled down, as he said, by an absolute and oppressive Directory. Thus alluring men's minds, he gained to himself, and to the name of his brother, the zealous friends of the liberty and glory of France; those desirous of

Italian liberty, and those likewise who coveted Italian spoils.

A Greek vessel was therefore employed to bear the common desires to the Egyptian shores in the summer of the present year. The intelligence it conveyed was grateful and opportune.

The prompt and vast mind of Buonaparte, his great political skill, and his profound knowledge of the human race, made him quite aware how full was the tide of fortune which flowed to meet him, and how propitious the opportunity of realising his immeasurable hopes. The occasion also appeared favourable to withdraw himself from Egypt, where affairs were beginning to take an unfavourable turn. He eagerly, therefore, set forward, to meet his new and extraordinary destiny. Weighing anchor from the Egyptian shore, he brought with him his most faithful companions in arms, whose swords he needed; and the most celebrated amongst the learned and literary, intending to avail himself of the powerful aid of the authority of their voices and their writings. He arrived unexpectedly at Frejus; and, disregarding the quarantine regulations,

because he wished rapidly to follow up the report of his landing, as suddenly left it, and quickly reached the ever fickle capital which eagerly expected him. I will not stop to relate the rejoicings that took place throughout France when the news was spread abroad of his return. Suffice it to say, that the people flocked round him on every side as a conqueror, a saviour, a redeemer;—already, France was his, though he was but a private individual, and a general without an army. Lyons above all was dizzy with unwonted joy; for that city was yet stained with gore from the domination of the murderous jacobins so lately extinct, and indignant under the martial law which still afflicted it. Buonaparte, as he passed through, spoke of peace, of commercial prosperity, of civil wounds to be healed by a mild and just government. The satisfied Lyonese felt their hopes revive, and loved him.—At Paris, every opinion, every affection turned to him. To all he gave good words; but, in fine, he inclined to the side of moderation, knowing that such was the general desire. Men of letters especially, whether poets or not poets, strove to gain

his favour in every manner that was most adulatory, and with measureless praise exalted his name to the skies. The infection of flattery was widely diffused; all France resounded with encomiums; liberty had already perished, ere brought to the birth.

Buonaparte drove out the legislative council at the point of the bayonet, and dismissed the Directory. The soldiers paid by the government turned against it. He was at first not without some fear himself, but soon found means to intimidate others: at this time he termed those lunatics, who could believe that monarchy could prevail over republicanism in Europe; and yet he afterwards suppressed all the republics, and every where established royalty. Europe knows the result of the 9th of November, which might have produced a system of regulated freedom, and which brought forth a severe, over-strained, despotic, and military government. Sieyes soon found that he had got a master, not an associate; Barras, that he had obtained not a colleague, but a man who wished to place him at a distance from himself, not a friend who acknow-

ledged in him a benefactor—one, in fine, in whom the desire of absolute power overcame gratitude and friendship.

Napoleon's trilustral series of artifices now commenced. Fearing that the French would hardly tolerate the great change he meditated, and perceiving that an extraordinary foundation must be laid, on which to sustain his immense cupidity, he prepared with infinite dexterity the most powerful allurements. Marvellous was his skill in winning victory in the field; but much more marvellous his art in seducing the minds of men. He drew them to a heavy yoke, but he alone knew what were his ends; and, spurred on by the grateful prospect of a happy futurity—by flattering hopes and gratified desires, they ran eagerly and impetuously to that point whither his will would have impelled them; yet never did so smooth a rind conceal a fruit so bitter. The termination of civil war in the interior, and peace with foreign nations, were deemed by him the necessary foundations of his power. The French were wearied and exhausted by protracted warfare, and desired peace above all things, provided

it could be procured without dishonour; and of this they felt no fear, with Buonaparte as their chief. To this end, therefore, he mainly directed his thoughts. A serious impediment to civil concord, he rightly judged, existed in those violent spirits who cannot from ambition remain at rest under any government, nor even continue tranquil when they are possessed of authority themselves, their tyranny first decimating the people, then bringing destruction on themselves, and laying the very foundations of the state in ruin. He was aware that the names of such were odious in France; and therefore believed that, to banish these authors of scandalous disorders, of quarrels, and of blood, would effectually promote the restoration of civil harmony. For this reason, therefore, without standing on judicial forms, or delaying to use against them the most severe remedy, he transported them to distant settlements or exiled them to foreign countries.

France being purged of these turbulent men, he next sought to recal those who had embraced the part of the king, or who at least had abhorred the excesses committed in the present period of

the revolution. But few were exempted from this edict of clemency; and those, rather as a means of granting future favours, than from any other motive. The exiles returned, but not to their own roofs—not to the possession of their confiscated fortunes—yet to see once more the mountains, the streams, the vales of their native land, to breathe again their native air; and this, even this, has in it something of felicity.

These measures were exceedingly gratifying to the royalists; and from them they augured still greater advantages to their party. Their satisfaction was grateful to the Consul, who wished to obtain absolute power by the aid both of royalists and republicans. And these ideas he the more willingly confirmed, knowing that they were highly pleasing to the European powers, and, in conformity with the expectations given by him, at Leoben and Campo Formio, of the restoration of the Bourbons, which was the first wish of the sovereigns, and particularly of the Emperor Paul. In the depth of his dissimulation, he hoped, by these means, to obtain peace in Europe, and such power in France as should enable him

finally to avow that he had grasped the crown for himself, and not for others. The authorities established by him in France, consisting principally of the senate and the legislative body, gave him no apprehension; the senate was secured to him by its wealth, the legislative body by its ambition. The discordant law and administration of the various provinces he reduced to one model; and the laws being better executed, and the revenue flourishing, every thing tended to monarchy. The contributions flowed freely in; the magistrates were active; the people obedient; the soldiers willing to follow their standards; and all blessed the Consul. To believe that abstract principles will prevail over full purses is the folly of a madman.

Great effect was given to all these manœuvres, by men of science and letters, who have always great influence with the people, particularly in France, where they meet in certain assemblies, not by law, but by custom. For this reason, the Consul caressed them, gave them riches, granted them honours. He flattered the Institute, and the Institute flattered him. Some drew

near him from interested motives, others from virtuous intentions only, believing him inclined of his own free will to promote liberty, or hoping to gain him over to her side by persuasion. Amongst these latter, I have pleasure in mentioning the name of Cabanis, but whether the excellence of his thoughts, his words, his writings, or his actions was greatest, I am unable to determine, for certainly in all these he was truly eminent. This array of the scientific and the literary was a powerful support to the Consul; because every one thought that he to whom the society of those who cultivated the arts of peace was pleasing, must also hold dear the happiness of civil life, and with it liberty, which would be the perfection, and, as it were, the flower of civilization, if avarice and ambition did not corrupt it.

The war in La Vendée had from the beginning of the revolution been one of the greatest evils it had brought forth. The furious contests of the royalists and republicans had there exterminated entire communes; had laid waste districts that were before flourishing; had occasioned actions to be committed which men, enraged against each

other, only commit in civil wars—rarely even in them. Force had not been able to put it down, but served only to irritate it; negociation, where no confidence in good faith existed, was equally unavailing. Till this period, therefore, it had been called the interminable war. The Consul, foreseeing the great popularity he should acquire by giving peace to a land red with so much French blood, applied his mind to the task, and succeeded in accomplishing it. Between the terror of his name, the formidable army of his soldiers, his protestations of good faith, the hopes recently given of further compliance with their desires, the chiefs of La Vendeé were brought to an honourable composition. Concord once more visited the ensanguined banks of the Loire; Paris wondered to see the Vendean chiefs within her walls; the nation admired the consular pacificator, equally great in acquiring the triumphs of war and restoring the blessings of peace.

Buonaparte expected to derive from the clergy, so ill-treated by the Directory, powerful support in the prosecution of his ambitious designs; he sought to gain them, and easily accomplished it;

he gave a country to the banished priests, liberty to the incarcerated, and security to those who had sought a precarious existence in concealment. These things he did openly, many others he promised secretly. All the priests, even those who, with crucifix in hand, had excited the Vendean population against the republicans, became attached to him, and promoted his authority. We must here add that, honouring that Pope when dead, whom he had persecuted when living, he celebrated the funeral offices of Pius the Sixth with many august ceremonies. He commanded his solemn exequies to be performed at Valence in Dauphiny; he called him just, and virtuous, and holy; and affirmed, that force and bad counsels had obliged him to make war against France. These discourses were wonderfully gratifying to those who still retained religious sentiments, and still more so to the clergy. France already called him, not only a conquering hero and a generous reformer of the government, but also the pious restorer of its ancient faith. The pontifical throne having become vacant by the death of Pius

the Sixth, a conclave was at this time held at Venice for the election of his successor. The Consul finding that, as the election must take place in a city subject to Austria, a pontiff would be chosen from the adherents of that house, and, therefore, inimical to his own individual interests and those of France, multiplied on every side his demonstrations of affection to the cause of religion and her ministers. It was easy to foresee from these first favours, that he wished in ecclesiastical matters to proceed to legitimate and definitive ordinances. For these reasons the cardinals who were assembled at Venice, not despairing of France, would not consent to elevate to the pontificate any of their number who had shown himself indisposed towards her.

It also happened favourably for France and the Consul, that the cardinals strongly suspected the designs of Austria on the patrimony of the church. The intentions she had shown of sending Froelich to Rome, the delay in ratifying the convention between Garnier, the English, and the Neapolitans, and, still more, the evident desire

she betrayed of keeping to herself the three legations,* had excited their suspicions; and therefore they desired to strengthen themselves against Austria, by the friendship of France. These dispositions were artfully fomented by the Consul, and facilitated his plans in settling the affairs of Rome. It was now manifest that, instead of combating against Europe and the Holy See conjointly, the season had arrived in which he might avail himself of the aid of the church against the temporal powers; and, as the worst evils had resulted from the cry of liberty without religion, he resolved to proclaim both liberty and religion, until his power should take such firm root, that he might extinguish the one and move the other at his will:—all things tended to his power.

But the first, and the universal desire of ensanguined France was peace, and this desire the Consul encouraged; not that he expected to succeed in procuring it with all the powers, but to offer it to all accorded well with his general plans. He continually declared, that this was the purpose of his return from Egypt; that he ab-

* Romagna, Bologna, and Ferrara.—*Tr.*

horred alike war and conquerors, and prayed God to grant him just sufficient life to give peace to France and Europe; for this only did he desire to live; military glory had become disgusting to him; peaceful labours alone had now any charms. These sentiments were expressed in such eloquent words, and with such benignity of countenance, that every one gave credit to his sincerity.

With these views, though scarcely expecting that more than the credit of the offer would result from the overture, he wrote an elaborate letter to George the Third. "Was the war to be eternal? Were there no means of coming to an honourable adjustment? Were two great and powerful nations utterly to disregard the prosperity of the state and the happiness of private families? Did they not feel that peace was now actually in their hands; and, as it was the desire of all, was it not therefore of all things the most glorious? It was evident that France and England were sufficiently strong to continue long to harass each other; but it was equally evident that the destiny of every nation hung on the termination of a war which had set the world on fire." The

English monarch coldly replied, through Lord Grenville, that "France had desolated the earth; that like principles and like causes would in future bring forth like effects. Treaties of peace and alliance had been used for the destruction of friends and allies. It was yet to be seen whether the new government, produced by a fresh revolution, would adopt different measures and afford greater security to those who should treat with it. No confidence could be placed in general professions of pacific desires. Not empty words, but experience could convince other powers that the designs of France were now different from what they had been. The King desired peace, but it must be one affording security to himself and to his allies. The only certain means of solid peace would be to restore to France that line of princes whose government for so many centuries had given her internal prosperity and external dignity. Nevertheless, the King only intimated this to France—he did not demand it. He neither desired nor pretended to prescribe a form of government or a head to a great and powerful nation; he sought only security for himself—

security for his allies; he was willing to come to an agreement when he thought he could do so with safety; as yet, it was impossible to know sufficiently the principles of the new government, or to form any probable conjecture as to its duration." In this manner the proposal of peace between France and England was terminated. But this consequence resulted to the Consul from the overture, that the continuation of the war was imputed not to him, but to the English monarch.

Between France and England there existed a lively hatred, an opposition of interests, the jealousies incident on vicinity, and difficulties in the way of negociation, that were almost insuperable. Far different were the relative circumstances of France and Russia. Austria was the natural ally of England; Russia was only so by chance. This the Consul knew; nor was he ignorant of the coldness which existed between Francis and Paul. Austria having wished to occupy France; her refusal to replace the king of Sardinia; the harsh treatment of her soldiers by Froëlich; the Archduke Charles's having, by

his hasty march to the Rhine, left Suwarrow in great danger in Switzerland; the manifesting in every circumstance the desire of universal dominion in Italy, had altogether conspired to cool the ardour of the Russian emperor, and had indisposed him towards his ally, although he was not himself averse to possessing a secure footing in the kingdom of Naples, to serve as an emporium and a starting point, which he had recently endeavoured to procure by negociations with Ferdinand. This dissatisfaction Buonaparte artfully fomented, representing to Paul the ambition of the emperor Francis, who wished, he said, to possess, besides the estates of Venice, which had been given in compensation for the Netherlands, both Milan and Mantua, and their dependencies, a conquest effected chiefly by the valour and blood of Russian soldiers; nor even content with this, he further coveted the three legations of the pontificate, and had, besides, a fancy for Piedmont, on which account he had opposed Suwarrow, when he wished to restore Charles Emanuel to his ancient seat. For himself, he had no other designs on Italy, than to bring it

back to the conditions of Campo Formio, to secure the independence of the pontiff, and the king of Naples; to give fitting legislation and more monarchical institutions to Lombardy; and to replace the King of Sardinia in Piedmont, if no just compensation could be found. As for England, he reminded Paul of her insolent domination of the seas, and of the noble spirit which Catherine had showed in having wished to restrain it; and, in magnificent words, he advocated the liberty of the Baltic, and the privileges of neutral ships in time of war. To all these insinuations he added certain expressions, which conveyed to Paul the idea that he meant to carry into execution the measures commenced by means of the Count d'Entragues for the restoration of the Bourbons. Paul allowed himself to be moved by all these promises and protestations. The Consul, in hopes of making him wheel round entirely, paid, and provided in every thing, the Russian prisoners in Holland and Switzlerland, and sent them home free to their sovereign. This appeared a generous act, and an earnest of future designs. Moved by all these things, the Emperor

of Russia, who was sudden in his resolves, transferred his wrath from France to England; and not perceiving, from the sincerity of his own mind, all that nestled under the flattering words of the Consul, he took him into his friendship and yielded to his will, declaring that he would no longer participate in the league; and recalled to Russia all the troops that were quartered in Germany. Then, becoming more inflamed by the hopes he received, he renewed, against the maritime power of England, the articles of the league of the North,* drove out of St. Petersburg the agents of George the Third, blaming the English for the unfortunate result of the expedition to Holland; and, shaking off the friendship of England and Austria, he threw himself precipitately into the arms of France. This appeared to all, as it was in fact, a change of the greatest importance, and was a powerful support to the rising greatness of the Consul.

Buonaparte having accomplished a reconciliation with the Emperor Paul, next endeavoured to confirm the alliance with Prussia; and this cost him

* Of 1780, called the Armed Neutrality.—*Tr.*

little trouble; because, (all his actions showing him ever full of incredible simulation and dissimulation) now insinuating that he was not averse to the restoration of the Bourbons—now representing the ambition of Austria, he easily obtained from Frederick William the observation of the treaty of Basle, his consent to the last change in France, and the acknowledgment of himself as head of the French government.

Austria was now the only continental power at war with France. The Consul endeavoured to win over the mind of the Emperor Francis, by offering to return to the stipulations of Campo Formio, with the further concession that he would negociate for the security of the kingdom of Italy and of the Austrian possessions there. The idea of resigning the entire fruits of his recent victories was repugnant to the Emperor of Austria; and he considered it a monstrous proposition, to deprive him of the State of Milan, his ancient possession, which the valour of his own soldiers chiefly had re-conquered, and to leave him only that of Venice, which had been given in compensation for Brabant; neither did he

in the least confide in the promises of Buonaparte; for, having had with him many and frequent negociations, he knew him well. It did not also escape his observation, that, to restore the Milanese to Buonaparte would render the possession of the Venetian territories uncertain; and that he could not without danger consent to divide the sovereignty of Italy with one so active, so ambitious, and so arrogant. These ideas received additional force from the instigations of England, who was intent on traversing the negociation, seeing her own ruin in the tranquillity of the rest of the world. She offered a subsidy, and her co-operation on the coast of France. For these reasons, and considering moreover that the veterans of Buonaparte's army had perished, either by the plague in Egypt, or by the sword in Italy, Francis determined to refuse peace, and try what the fortunes of war might bring him. Buonaparte secretly rejoiced in the refusal, as much as he had profited in public opinion by having made the offer of peace; for he had no real desire to come to an agreement with Austria. Thus, confirming the major part of the world in

his favour, he also confirmed the affection of the contented in France, and won over the discontented; and, partly from the good he really executed—partly from the hopes he inspired, it followed that the French universally approved his government, desired his greatness, and willingly disposed themselves to forward his measures. The people eagerly rushed to the fulfilment of his will in every thing. France hastened to prove her new fortunes, and all hoped that, if Buonaparte, as her General, had rendered her glorious in the field, as Consul, he would make her both illustrious in war and happy in peace.

As for the conduct of the war, his measures were skilfully arranged. He sent fresh battalions, consisting chiefly of veterans, to reinforce Moreau, confirming him in his command on the Rhine, where he was to sustain the weight of the Austrians in Germany. On the other side, his mind becoming even more intent on the recovery of Italy, he sent Massena into Liguria in order to keep the enemy from the frontiers of France, and to preserve Genoa, until he himself could reach the Italian plains with a powerful force.

He assembled a large number of veteran and of new troops at Dijon, from whence, according to circumstances, they were to march to Germany, if Moreau should require their aid, or to Italy, if he should succeed on the Rhine, of which the Consul had great hopes from the skill of Moreau, and the strength of his army. For this reason, his principal design was to lead the troops assembled at Dijon under the name of an army of reserve, to the plains of Italy still resounding with the fame of his many victories. The French army, therefore, was disposed against Austria; Massena commanded on the extreme right, Moreau on the left, the central division was led first by Berthier, and afterwards by the Consul in person. Certainly, more tried, or more excellent, or more famous captains than these the world had never seen; and from them their admiring contemporaries expected deeds of surpassing glory.

The war becoming[c] imminent, Buonaparte, whose words were the voice of victory, summoned his soldiers to the field. "When I promised peace, said he, in your name I promised

it, for you are the same men who vanquished Holland, Germany, and Italy, the same who, under her very walls, forced peace from terrified Vienna. Soldiers! you have now a far other task than that of defending your own frontiers. Go! invade, conquer the territories of your enemies. You have all served in many campaigns, and know that to conquer it is necessary to suffer. In a few hours it is impossible to impair the injuries committed by a bad government. To me, the first magistrate of the republic, it will be sweet to say to expectant France, these are the bravest, the best disciplined defenders the country could have. I will be with you, soldiers: when the season of action arrives, I will be with you. Europe shall confess that you are the same valiant race that so often have constrained her to admiration." In this manner, adding enthusiasm to courage, he exalted the valour of his followers to the utmost pitch of intrepidity.

Afflicted by defeat, the army of Italy were beginning to give way, and the soldiers were breaking through all laws of discipline; but the propitious season approaching, Buonaparte thus

remonstrated with them—"Will the legions no longer hear the voice of their officers? Do they (and above all the seventeenth) desert their ensigns? Are then all the heroes of Castiglione, of Rivoli, and Neumark dead? Rather would they have perished than have abandoned their standards. You speak of the scarcity of provisions:—what would you then have done if, like the fourth and the twenty-second light, and the eighteenth and thirtieth heavy brigades, in the midst of deserts, without bread, without water, you had been reduced to feed on the flesh of loathsome animals? 'Victory,' said they, 'will give us bread,'—and will you desert your standards? Soldiers of the Italian army, a new general commands you; when your glory was most resplendent, he was ever first amongst the first; trust yourselves to him, and he will lead you to fresh conquests. I have commanded a faithful account to be kept of the actions of each legion, especially of the seventeenth light, and the sixty-third heavy brigade. They will call to mind the confidence I formerly placed in them." The minds

of these brave men were deeply affected by this address.

The Italian army, consisting of little more than five-and-twenty thousand soldiers, were distributed in the following manner. The right, under Soult, extended from Recco, on the eastern Riviera of Genoa, to Mount Cornua and Torriglio, and from the Bocchetta through Campofreddo, Stella, and Montelegina, on the western Riviera, as far as Cadibuona and Savona; and commanded Gavi, and also Genoa, where the generalissimo Massena held his head-quarters. The left, under Suchet, guarded the western district from Vado to the Varo, with garrisons in the principal places: viz. San Giacomo, Settepani, Santo Stefano, Madonna della Neve, Montecalvo, Montegrosso; and also on the summits of the maritime Alps. This front was certainly too wide to be well defended by such a small body of men; but Genoa was necessary to the designs of France, because it was of consequence to the ulterior movements of the Consul that it should long hold out, and Massena wished to occupy a

large tract of country for the supply of provisions, of which he was in great want, therefore he was resolved to keep the command of the Riviera until compelled to abandon it.

On the other side, Melas, though a skilful and experienced general (and, perhaps, chiefly because he was so), could not persuade himself that the troops assembled at Dijon were to descend like a tempest on Italy, deeming it impossible that the republicans could, in so short a time, after so many discomfitures, have collected troops and arms sufficient for a movement of such consequence on those very plains where he had defeated, and from whence he had driven, them a few months back; but he knew not how to estimate the promptitude of Buonaparte, nor the readiness with which the French speeded to whatever point his name and voice called them. Hence he remained in too great security as to what might happen on his rear and on his right flank; and thus, intent only on driving the French from Genoa, he directed his whole force against a distant division of the French army, against difficult passes, against sterile rocks, leaving the

field open to his adversary to descend to the rich and level plains of Lombardy with all the weight of his central force. From the occurrences hereafter to be related, it will appear evident that Melas in this committed a great error, because he did exactly that which Buonaparte would have chosen him to do. This is so certain that I am inclined to believe that, leaving the Ligurian territory so feebly guarded, garrisoning the capital, and spreading so wide a front, proceeded rather from stratagem on the part of Buonaparte, as a bait to Melas to carry on the war where success promised to be so easily secured, than from error or weakness. In any case, it does not appear what advantage Austria could derive from the reduction of Genoa, which she could not, and probably did not wish to keep, or from the occupation of the shores, which she certainly neither felt the desire, nor possessed the means of permanently retaining. Then, too, the hope of displaying the Austrian standards on the frontiers of France, with the idea of exciting the people to rise against Buonaparte, was entirely vain, and undoubtedly was so thought by every one who

had means of knowing the temper of those times. Not in France, not amidst the rocks of Liguria, but in the fertile plains of Piedmont and Lombardy, was the contest to be decided, whether Italy should lie at the discretion of France or of Austria. The Austrians, therefore, being masters of the passes, should have guarded them jealously, and should have remained in force in the plain, instead of wandering away to an extreme point of the field of war. Melas, directing his efforts on one side against Genoa, and on the other against Nice, turned his back on Buonaparte, who was marching from Dijon,—an accident of war of peculiar singularity, which denoted in the Austrian General either too much confidence in himself, blameable ignorance of the designs already publicly manifested by the enemy, or a false estimate of how much that enemy could effect in a short time with his devoted Franks, so confident in him, so prone to arms, so impatient of defeat, so jealous of military honours.

The Austrians, who much exceeded Massena in numbers, were so placed as to surround the whole Ligurian territory. From Sestri on the east,

on the summits of the Apennines, opposite to those which the French occupied, they extended as far as the Col di Tenda. Otto commanded on the left, Hohenzollern on the right, as far as Novi, and opposite Gavi and Bocchetta. The generalissimo, Melas, was at Cairo, Esnitz at Ceva, against Suchet; and, finally, on the extreme point to the right, Morzin was between Cuneo and the skirts of the Col di Tenda. Melas, preparing to invade the Genoese territory, prefaced harsh deeds by mild proclamations. "Genoese," said he, "I enter your country, not to conquer nor to subjugate you, but to combat an enemy who, having promised you liberty and equality, reduces you, like so many other unfortunate nations, to poverty and desperation. The Emperor, my master, does not desire conquest; he only seeks to free your necks from the yoke which an intemperate conqueror has imposed on you; he commands property and religion to be respected; he desires the safety and happiness of the people. Look to the provinces restored by our arms to liberty: of your country he is not less tender. In his name, I will call to the government the most virtuous,

the wisest of your citizens. The ports shall be open; commerce, the true and only source of your prosperity, shall be free; poverty shall be exchanged for riches; oppression for liberty. By victory I will procure this, and will secure it to you!"

One Azzeretto, a Genoese, first in the pay of France, and then in that of Austria, strove much at this juncture to disturb the affairs of Genoa. In a furious proclamation, filled with over-harsh and immoderate censure of the French, he invited his compatriots to rise against them, and assert their liberty. But, by their own arms, the French and Austrians were to decide the matter; for not the slightest movement was made by the Genoese in favour of the league, as had been promised by Azzeretto.

Melas had stationed the greater number of his forces on the Carcare, his design being to push on and drive the enemy from the upper summits, to Savona, in order thus to separate the left wing of the French from the centre, and from the right, who fought on the eastern district. If he should succeed in this, his ulterior object of

shutting up Massena in Genoa, and forcing him to capitulate, would be the more easily accomplished; and, as Massena could not quickly send reinforcements from the eastern side of the gulf of Genoa to the western, Melas commanded Otto to attack the French under Miollis at Recco, Toriglio, Scafera, Sant' Alberto, and Mounts Cornua, Becco, and Fascia; he also commanded Hohenzollern to attack the Bochetta, and carry it at any price. On the 7th of April, at the earliest dawn, the Germans, setting out from the Carcare in three columns, proceeded to the execution of these orders. The centre, under Mitruschi, marched by Altare and Torre to Cadibuona, a post which had been strongly fortified by the French, and the key, or as it were the pivot, on which the war in this quarter turned. The left, under General St. Julian, marched against Montenotte, and thence to Sassello, where a large body of republicans were stationed. Lastly, the right, under Esnitz and Morzin, passing by Mollare towards the sources of the East Bormida, had the charge of forcing the passes of Mount San Giacomo. These movements,

skilfully arranged, were intended to give Savona to the Austrians, and thereby to separate Suchet from Massena. The first engagement took place at Torri: the contest was severe, the Austrians having the advantage in numbers, the French in ground; but in the end, this Gallic van-guard was driven back to the trenches of Cadibuona. Here the encounter was still more desperate, but was at last decided in favour of the Imperialists, by the brave battalion of Relsch, which attacked the trenches in flank, and constrained the republicans to retreat in such disorder that, but for the timely aid of a fresh reinforcement under Soult, they would have been entirely routed. But neither the presence nor the exertions of Soult could restore the fortune of the day; for the Austrians, in the enthusiasm of victory, drove the enemy entirely out of the field; and the French, climbing with breathless labour up the summits of the mountains, sought shelter on Monte Ajuto, where there are some fortifications. Melas, unwilling to leave them in possession of this asylum, sent Palfi and Lattermann against it, with five battalions of grenadiers, and the regiment

of Spleney; and the one attacking it in front, the other in flank, succeeded in dislodging the French from this strong position. The republicans again made head at Montemoro; Melas attacked them in front and in the rear, and in the flanks on one side towards Vado, on the other towards Arbizzola, and obliged them, from the fear of being cut off, to retire in confusion to Savona. The victors closely following, entered the city with them pellmell. Soult, in the exigency of the moment, threw what provisions he could into the fortress, and, fighting rather as if he were the victor, than vanquished by the Imperialists, who had already descended to Arbizzola, retired to Varaggio. These encounters were attended with great loss on both sides, but the French were most severely injured, as their numbers were less.

In a similar manner the republicans, though constantly overpowered by superior force, defended in turn every village, every mountain pass, or fortress, of the Genoese territory. Massena, Soult, Suchet, and Miollis, were opposed to Melas, Hohenzollern, Otto, and Esnitz, in a

succession of severe, though undecisive, actions.* But, in the end, the Austrians having a decided superiority in numbers, were so generally successful, that Massena was forced to retire within the walls of Genoa; and Suchet, who had been driven back beyond Nice, defended the ancient frontier of France on the banks of the Varo with a degree of courage, intelligence, and activity, worthy of the highest praise. His services at this period proved of the utmost consequence to the republic, not only preserving her own territory inviolate, but gaining time for the mighty design of the Consul in Italy.

And now the hoary and victorious Melas began to discover that he had fallen into the snare laid for him by the youthful warrior, and that it was so little the season for the conquest of Provence, that all his efforts must be given to the preservation of Italy, if it were not already too late. He had received the earliest intelligence of the descent of Buonaparte from the Pennine Alps.

* These are all given by Botta in the fullest detail. The Translator hopes, however, that the reader will not regret the omission here, as the recital is, on the whole, tedious.

At first he thought the matter of little consequence; yet he erred much in supposing that the Consul was likely to appear with a small force on the summits of the Alps; and he should have been fully aware, that where Buonaparte was, there was the whole fortune of the war—there the coming ruin of Austria. On the first report, he sent a brigade to Piedmont, across the Col di Tenda; but, when he found that the danger was even greater than rumour had made it, he resolved instantly to leave the distant field of fruitless contests, to repair to that arena where conqueror must be opposed to conqueror, hand to hand. Esnitz was therefore commanded to desist from the attack on Provence, and either to join Otto in the siege of Genoa, if Genoa still held out, or to follow Melas to the plains of Alexandria, if the capital of Liguria should have yielded to the arms of Austria. Esnitz accordingly retired, and was closely followed by Suchet. Every pass of the Genoese territory being shut against him, the Austrians entered Piedmont by the valley of Ormea; while Suchet marching on, attacked the castle of Savona.

At this time the war consisted of two principal circumstances—the siege of Genoa, and the descent of Buonaparte into Italy. The one closely depending on the other, Otto used every effort to take the city, in order to join the definitive struggle in the fields of Alexandria. Massena, through the courage and the ingenuity of his own officers, or of the patriotic exiles of Piedmont (who came to and fro with intelligence, traversing, at an extreme risk, the quarters of the Austrians), was well informed of all that occurred in the Pennine Alps; and, for a contrary reason, wished to hold out as long as possible. His determination gave rise to circumstances worthy of record, and such as are rarely to be read in the annals of history. The capital of Liguria rises in a magnificent amphitheatre on the back of the Appennines, between the rivers Polcevera and Bisagno, and is guarded by an outer and inner circuit of wall.* These two circumvallations are furnished with bastions and curtains, according to the circumstances of the steep, rocky, and broken grounds. The first wall begins on the right bank of the Bisagno, on

* The one six, the other thirteen miles in extent.—*Tr.*

the eastern shore, above the Roman gate and the pier, and rises on the mountain to the utmost steep; then, turning westward, surrounds the city, and after extending itself into a fort called the Tanaglia, close to the Crocetta, terminates near to the lantern at the new mole. The second, rising also at the eastern shore, joins the other wall half-way to the new mole. The strongest part of the rampart is on the highest part of the steep, but is commanded by two summits rising above and beyond it, on which are, therefore, placed two forts—one on the mountain of the Two Brothers, the other lower down, called, from its form, the Fort of the Diamond: whoever holds these is master of Genoa, as they command all the other fortifications. The weakest part of the circumvallation is lower down, at the mouth of the Bisagno, but is strengthened by forts on the neighbouring eminences; viz. the fort of Quezzi, on the Mountain of the Winds; fort Richelieu, on Mount Manego; and, lastly, that of Santa Tecla, on the height of the same name. These, however, being still insufficient, there are entrenchments formed on the neighbouring

mounts of the Ratti, the Fascia, and Becco. Such were the defences when Genoa was independent: they then sufficed, because they could not be reduced by a short siege, and a long one was improbable, in consequence of the mutual jealousy of other powers. Massena's living defence consisted of 10,000 French soldiers: he had with him Soult, Gazan, Clauzel, Miollis, and Darnaud. To these must be added about 2,000 Italians of different states, formed by Massena into a regular body, and placed under the command of Rossignoli, a Piedmontese, a man of noble nature, of great courage, and enthusiastically devoted to liberty. They were faithfully aided by the Genoese National Guard, equally from affection to France, hatred of Austria, and the fear of pillage during any internal disturbance. All this force together was, however, certainly not sufficient to guard so large a circuit: and scarcity of provisions was also much feared, particularly of grain; for the English, under Keith, prevented the entrance of supplies from Corsica and Marseilles.

Of the then existing government of Genoa I will say little: it was neither more free nor more

submissive than the preceding. A great change, as to its form, had taken place; for, as the Directory had been set aside in France, an empirical, and servile, fashion of imitation would have it also set aside in Liguria; and here it was replaced by a commission of government. The change was praised with the customary servility. This government seconded Massena with good will, but submissively and humbly, because present danger and long-sustained misfortune had broken men's spirits.

The force which invested Genoa was of various descriptions. Its chief strength lay in the Germans, but to them were added numerous bands of peasantry as well from the Riviera as from the mountains. These were drawn together, not from any good motives, but from those of hatred, revenge, and the desire of pillage, by Azzeretto, a man who had shown himself to be corrupt and dissolute, when fighting with the French; and was no less so now when fighting with the Germans. The Austrians were also powerfully assisted by the English and Neapolitan ships, which not only cut off supplies, but kept up a constant fire on

the shores, particularly near the Bisagno, where the coast is less strongly defended than towards the Polcevera. Otto, who conducted the siege, commanded a vigorous assault on the 23d of April, to the left of the Polcevera. The regiment of Nadasti first drove the French from Rivarola, and then took possession also of San Pier d'Arena; but Massena drove them out again with the twenty-fifth regiment. The assailants knew that the weakest part was towards the east, and therefore resolved on an attack in that quarter, endeavouring to seize the heights. On the 30th, before the dawn of day, Hohenzollern and Palfi attacked the Mount of the Two Brothers; Colonel Frimont, descending from the Fascia, assaulted the three forts, Ratti, Quezzi, and Richelieu; General Massena escaladed Santa Tecla; Azzeretto, with his peasants, stormed around the "Diamond;" and Gottescheim, passing Starla, approached San Martino d'Albaro and the walls of the city. In aid of all these movements on the eastern side, Otto attacked Rivarolo on the western. The Germans succeeded in almost all these attempts; they gained mount Ratti, the Two Brothers, and fort Tecla. Fort Richelieu and

the Diamond were surrounded. Gottesheim had already gained one-half of San Martino, and was occupied in reducing the other. The danger of the French was great; for, if the Germans could keep the places they had taken, Genoa must inevitably fall. Massena, therefore, strove to recover his losses: he sent Soult to the 'Two Brothers;' Darnaud against Gottesheim; Miollis against Santa Tecla and Quezzi; and all were successful. The Italians under Rossignoli were the first who accomplished the task assigned them—retaking the Two Brothers; Massena, indefatigable, invincible, and indignant, animated by success, made a fresh sortie on the 11th of May, his intention being to drive the enemy from Mount Fascia, from whence they could destroy the fortifications nearest to the citadel: Soult he commanded to wind up the back of the mountain; Miollis to attack it in front. Miollis was unsuccessful; but Soult, after a fierce contest, carried the Mount. Hohenzollern and Frimont, however, recovered it ere long from the republicans. Massena, in the mean time, collected provisions from the country, though but a scanty and insufficient

supply. He next endeavoured to take Mount Creto, important both from its commanding situation, and as a pass from the eastern to the western Riviera.* Two large squadrons were sent against it: the right under Soult, the left under Gazan. The Germans were vigilant and well fortified; and the assault was furious; the defence valiant. The French, however, were gaining the day, when a terrific storm came on; the air became quite dark, and the rain fell in extraordinary torrents; and the assailants were forced to retire. When the sky cleared they returned to the attack; but, in the mean time, Hohenzollern had been able to bring up fresh troops; he broke the republicans, and drove them back within the walls. In this affair the combatants fought with indescribable fury—man to man. Soult, whilst zealously urging his men to the charge, was severely wounded in the right leg, and made prisoner.

This unfortunate expedition was the last sortie attempted by Massena, for he had lost his best soldiers, and was too weak to leave the city.

* The Genoese territory between the Appennines and the sea, so called.—*Tr.*

However, he was still strong enough to prevent the enemy from carrying it by force of arms; but famine effected what valour was unequal to accomplish. Having here to describe the aspect of Genoa in these latter days of the siege, I cannot but deplore the fate of an Italian people reduced to the extremest misery,—not in a struggle decisive of misery or slavery, but to determine whether a city, desolated by rapine, slaughter, famine, and pestilence, should, in the end, be subject to Austria or France! Keith prevented the entrance of supplies by sea, Otto by land. Provisions became scarce,—scarcity grew into want.

When this deficiency was first dreaded, food was dealt out in scanty portions; it was then adulterated; and, finally, every thing most disgusting was devoured,—not only horses and dogs, but even cats, mice, bats, and worms; and happy was he who could obtain these. The Austrians had taken the mills of Bisagno, Voltri, and Pegli, and none were left to prepare the corn. This was remedied, for a time, by using hand-mills, chiefly coffee-mills. The Academy was now employed to devise better ones; and they invented springs, and

wheels, and mills of novel construction, with some of the largest of which, one man could grind a bushel a-day. In every street, in every shop, these machines were seen continually at work; in private houses—in familiar parties, every one was grinding: the ladies made it their pastime; but within a short time there was no more corn left to grind. When grain failed, other seeds were sought to supply its place: flax-seed, millet, cocoa, and almonds, were first put in requisition, for of rice or barley there was none; and these substitutes were roasted, mixed with honey, and baked, and were considered a delicacy. Parents and friends rejoiced with him who could, for an additional day, support himself and his family with flax-seed, millet, or a few grains of cocoa; even bran, a substance affording no nourishment, was also ground, and, when baked with honey, was eaten, not to satisfy, but to deaden hunger; beans were most precious.—Happy were now, not those who lived, but those who died! The day was sad from hunger and the lamentations of the famishing; the night was sadder still from hunger accompanied by delirious fancies. When every

kind of seed had been exhausted, recourse was next had to herbs; monk's-rhubarb, sorrel, mallows, wild succory, rampions, were diligently sought for, and as greedily eaten as if they had been pleasing to the palate. Long files of people, men of every rank, ladies of noble birth, as well as plebeians, were seen examining every verdant site, particularly the fertile orchards of Bisagno, and the delightful hills of Albano, to dig out of them those aliments which nature has destined solely for the ruminating beasts. For a time sugar was used: rose, violet, and candied sugar, and every kind of confection were in general use. The retailers, men and women, sold them in public, in elegant little baskets adorned with flowers and garlands—a strange sight in the midst of all these pallid, emaciated, and cadaverous faces; yet thus powerful is the imagination of man, pleasing itself in embellishing that which, in its own nature, is most lamentable and terrible—a merciful dispensation of Providence, who wills not man's despair. But enough:—women of plebeian, as well as those of noble birth, who were alike seen to feed on what was most loathsome

in the morning, ate of the most delicate confections in the evening. That the sight of extreme misery does not correct iniquity in the evil disposed, Genoa, in her utmost distress, afforded an example but too horrible; for some, devoid of every feeling of humanity, and actuated only by the vile spirit of gain, used chalk in the eatables they sold, instead of flour, of which not a few of the consumers died, suffering under the agonies caused at once by hunger and by the deleterious compound.

During the siege, yet before the last extremities arrived, a pound of rice was sold for seven lire; a pound of veal for four; a pound of horse-flesh for thirty-two soldi;* a pound of flour for ten or twelve lire; eggs at fourteen lire the dozen; bran at thirty soldi the pound. Before all was over, a bean was sold for two soldi, and a biscuit of three ounce weight for twelve francs, and none were at last to be had. Neither Massena, nor the other generals, would allow themselves greater

* The value of a lira at Genoa, is $8\frac{3}{4}$d; a soldo is equivalent to $\frac{1}{2}$d. The lira is an imaginary denomination, varying in value in the different states of Italy.—*Tr.*

indulgences than private individuals; they fared like the plebeians;—a laudable instance of self-denial, and highly efficacious in enabling others to bear up against their privations. A little cheese and a few vegetables was the only nourishment given to the sick and wounded in the hospitals. Men and women, in the last agonies of starvation and despair, filled the air with their groans and shrieks. Sometimes, while uttering these dreadful cries, they strove with furious hands to tear out their agonized intestines, and fell dead in the streets. No one relieved them, for no one thought but of himself; no one heeded them, for the frequency of the circumstance had made it cease to seem horrible. Some in spasms and convulsions and contortions groaned out their their last amidst crowds of the populace. Children, left by the death or the despair of their parents in utter destitution, with mournful gestures, and tears, and heart-broken accents, implored the pity of the passing stranger; but none either pitied them, or aided them; the excess of his own sufferings extinguishing in each man's breast compassion for the misery of others.

These innocent deserted beings eagerly searched in the gutters of the streets, in the common sewers, in the drainings of the washing-houses, for a chance morsel of some dead animal, or any remains of the food of beasts, which, when found, was greedily devoured. Many who lay down alive in the evening were found dead in their beds in the morning, and children more frequently than adults: fathers accused the tardiness of death, and some hastened its approach by the violence of their own hands—citizens and soldiers alike. Some of the French preferring death to the anguish of hunger destroyed themselves; others disdainfully flung down those arms which they had no longer strength to carry; and others, abandoning a habitation of despair, sought in the camp of the enemy, English or Austrian, that food and that pity which was no longer to be found amidst the French and Genoese. But cruel and horrible beyond all description was the spectacle presented by the German prisoners of war, confined in certain old barges anchored in the port; for such was the dire necessity at last, that for some days they were left without nutriment of any

description. They eat their shoes, they devoured the leather of their pouches, and, scowling darkly at each other, their sinister glances betrayed the horrid fear of being at last reduced to a more fearful resource. In the end, their French guards were removed, under the apprehension that they might be made the sacrifice of ravening hunger: so great at last was their desperation, that they endeavoured to pierce holes in the barges in order to sink them, preferring to perish thus, rather than any longer endure the tortures of hunger. As commonly happens, a mortal pestilence was added to the horrors of famine: the worst kinds of fevers carried off crowds from the public hospitals, the lowly hovels of the poor, and the superb palaces of the rich. Under the same roof, death might be seen in different shapes: one died, maddened by hunger, another stupified by fever; some pallid from extenuation, others livid with febrile spots. Every thing brought grief—every thing fear; for he who was still living awaited either his own death, or that of his nearest friends. Such was the state of the once rich and joyous Genoa; and the bitterest thought of all was, that her

present sufferings could conduce nothing to future good, either as to her liberty or her independence.

The fortitude of all was exhausted. Massena alone retained his firmness, because his mind was bent on aiding the enterprise of the Consul, and on preserving intact his reputation as an unconquered commander; but, at last, when honourable conditions were offered by Keith, he brought down his spirit to a composition, since even the loathsome and poisonous food Genoa was reduced to, could not last for more than two days longer. Yet, still, his tone was rather that of a successful than of a defeated General: he insisted on the cession being called a convention, not a capitulation; which the allies were forced to grant. Massena and his troops, about eight thousand in number, were to leave Genoa, unrestricted by any conditions, either as to their persons or their allegiance. They were free to return to France by land; and those who could not accomplish this march, were to be carried by the English ships to Antibes, or the Gulf of Juan. The German prisoners were given up. No inquisition

was to be made as to the past, and those who wished to abandon Genoa were at liberty so to do; the allies were to furnish provisions, and take care of the sick; and on the 4th of June, the city was to be delivered up to the Austrian and English forces. On the appointed day, accordingly, the first took possession of the gate of the lantern; the second of the mouth of the port. Then Otto entered in triumph with his army, Keith with his fleet; but the prize thus obtained by a tedious war of detail, was speedily wrested from them by a brief and vigorous campaign. The most ardent democrats went away with the French; amongst others, Morandi, the Abbate Cuneo, the advocate Lombardi, and the brothers Boccardi. The bells were rung as for a festival, hymns were sung, and if bonfires were lighted by the partizans of the Austrians from affection, more were lighted by their enemies from fear. Every thing seemed to be as usual:—bread, meat, vegetables, and provisions of all kinds re-appeared in abundance, and those who abandoned themselves without restraint to the first impulse of appetite died in consequence. Thus many, who had not been

destroyed by long inanition, were killed by satiety. The retailers and venders, excited by the greediness of gain, strove to keep up the prices, but the infuriate populace fell on them in such a manner, as made them feel that hunger is a fierce counsellor. The peasants, under Azzeretto, endeavoured to sack the houses of the democrats, as they said, but, nevertheless, did not spare the aristocrats. But Hohenzollern, who had been left by Otto in command, restrained these excesses by military law. The Austrian commander created an imperial and royal regency, to which he called Pietro Paolo Celesia, Carlo Cambiaso, Agostino Spinola, Gian Bernardo Pallavicini, Girolamo Durazzo, Francisco Spinola di Gian Battista, and Luigi Lambruschini. The regency restrained the re-action of party vengeance ready to burst forth, by a laudable exertion of authority; but then came the opening of purses, an inevitable but cruel command in miserable Genoa. As for the rest, no sign was shown on the part of Hohenzollern, or of Melas, of any inclination, either towards the restoration of her ancient government, or her independence. Notwithstanding this, the aristo-

crats shouted *vivas* for the Emperor, from hatred against the democrats, just as the democrats had sent forth *vivas* for France, from hatred to the aristocrats;—blind slaves and madmen, both the one and the other; for they could not see, that from their private animosities sprang the ruin of their country, and the domination of foreigners.

CHAPTER II.

The Consul passes the Great St. Bernard.—Gains the battle of Marengo; and becomes master of Upper Italy.—Provisionary governments in Piedmont, Genoa, and Milan.—Conclave in Venice.—Cardinal Chiaramonti raised to the Pontificate; his inauguration at Rome.—Practices of Buonaparte with him.—Malta taken by the English.—Movements in Tuscany.—War renewed between Austria and France.—Battle of the Mincio between Bellegarde and Brune.—Retreat of the former.—Passage of the Splugen effected with wonderful courage and skill, by Macdonald.—Fresh successes of the French.—Peace with Naples, Austria, and Spain.—All Europe, except England, in amity with France.

In the mean time Buonaparte, the umpire of fortune, drew near, and the Austrian power in Italy tottered to its fall, at his approach. The First Consul had, with surprising celerity and skill, assembled his army of reserve at Dijon, from whence he alike menaced Italy and the Rhine; but by the successes of Moreau, in Ger-

many, against Kray, he found himself enabled to lead his forces to those fields where the trophies and the renown of his former triumphs were still fresh. Stimulated at once by the love of glory, and the certainty of finding numerous partisans, he was impelled to this scene of action by the highest incitements; and, therefore, whilst the ill-advised Melas continued to harass himself against the sterile rocks of extreme Liguria, Buonaparte approached the Alps, intent only on the factions of Italy.

Various, many, and powerful were the means he possessed of conducting his enterprise to a prosperous conclusion,—soldiers eager to will whatever might be his wishes, brave and expert generals, a formidable artillery, and an efficient body of cavalry. For the food of the soldiery on the desert solitudes of the Alps, he had provided biscuit in great abundance; and, in order to draw the artillery up and down the broken and narrow paths, choked up with snow and ice, he procured a peculiar kind of cart made in the manner of the sledges which are used in those regions for descending from the snowy heights. Nor was

this the only means devised by Buonaparte and Marmont, who superintended the artillery, to facilitate its passage over places till then considered inaccessible. Amongst other expedients, they caused trunks of large trees to be hollowed into troughs, in which they placed the pieces of ordnance, each as in its own proper bed, and being slung on mules, they were thus carried over the steepest heights. The military chest was sufficiently provided for the actual passage of the Alps, and that perilous undertaking once accomplished, Buonaparte trusted to the resources of Italy for further supplies. To gain the good-will of the Italians, he brought with him the Italian legion, commanded by one Lecchi, who, to escape from the fury of the Austrians, had fled into France on the defeat of Scherer, and had there collected a brave and handsome troop. For points of local knowledge, he also brought with him the best-informed Italians, and with the intention of crossing the Great St. Bernard, he consulted more especially with Pavetti of Romano in Canavese, a youth of a generous nature, who exerted himself with zeal in the cause of liberty.

To a supreme degree master of the art of seduction, the first Consul gave out that he returned to Italy, in order to found a well-regulated liberty in Lombardy, to give peace to Naples and Tuscany, to restore religion, to protect the clergy, and, finally, to reinstate the Roman Pontiff in his rightful seat. To all he spoke of peace, of humanity, of the termination of existing evils, of an age of prosperity about to commence for the general happiness of the human race. Staying a short time at Geneva, he there appeared so mild, so disposed to re-establish every thing that was just and right, according to the ancient forms, that the Genevese magistrates, deceived by his plausible words, ventured to speak of independence, and of the restoration of their ancient territory, which had been united as an integral part to France. But here the matter rested; and they were taught by his reply that if he loved to take, he loved also to keep. This passed, the suavity of his manner was re-assumed, and he professed himself willing to sacrifice his life if peace could be so obtained. In truth, he appeared so dull, so pale, and so meagre, that every one

thought that he must make peace quickly, if he really wished to witness it; so much did he seem to wear out his mind and body by unceasing labour for the benefit of France and of Europe generally. Unwearied in his cajoleries, he talked of Saussure, of Bonnet, of Sennebier; of Rousseau he said nothing. He expressed himself desirous of restoring science and literature to the honours they had been deprived of by the war, and the Genevese were astonished to find such love of peaceful studies in a soldier, for they did not penetrate his humour, nor did they perceive that, wishing to make the age retrograde, he would, nevertheless, promote its advancement, until he should become its master.

Buonaparte's plan for the re-conquest of Italy was vast and magnificent. He proposed to cross the Great St. Bernard with the main body of the army, descending thence by the valley of Aosta into the Piedmontese plains. General Thureau, with a squadron of three or four thousand men, was ordered to march from the Maurienne and Upper Dauphiny, over Mount Cenis and Mount Ginevre, as far as Susa, and further, if necessary,

for the purposes of encouraging a rising in that district against the Austrians, of alarming the people for the safety of Turin, and of co-operating with the force the Consul intended to assemble on the banks of the Dora. General Moncey was to descend at the same time by the lesser St. Bernard, with a chosen body of twelve thousand men, for the purpose of raising the country on the upper part of the plain of Lombardy, between the Tesino and the Adda. To favour a rising in the district between the Tesino and the Sesia, General Bethancourt was ordered to cross the Simplon, and to descend by Domo d'Ossola to the shores of the Lago Maggiore; where, narrowing its expanse, it permits the waters of the Tesino to flow from it. A detachment of five thousand men were to cross the lesser St. Bernard, and meet the main body in the valley of Aosta, as the nature and the amount of the difficulties which a large body of men would encounter in crossing the great St. Bernard were well known to the Consul. Altogether the troops amounted to about sixty thousand men. Thus the Consul embraced the whole of the Alpine region which extends from St.

Gothard to Mount Ginevre, and threatened with invasion the plain of Piedmont and that of Lombardy. On the other hand, he hoped that Massena, keeping his ground in Genoa, and Suchet in the Riviera, would detain Melas till he himself should come up to attack him both on his flank and on his rear. Bold and wonderful, as we have already said, was this undertaking of the Consul, but it might have drawn on him speedy and utter ruin, if Moreau had been defeated on the Rhine, or if Melas had been more prudent, more active, or better informed.

Having deluded the civilized Genevese, by his flattering discourses of peace, of benevolence, and courtesy, the First Consul set forth on his stupendous enterprize, his forces being already assembled at Martigny, in the Valais, a district situated at the foot of the Great St. Bernard. The soldiers gazed on the aerial summits of the lofty mountain with wonder and impatience, while, in the enthusiasm of the moment, the General-in chief, Berthier, thus addressed them: "The army of the Rhine has won glorious victories, and in Italy our fellow-soldiers have fought

with undaunted courage against superior numbers. Be you incited by their example to gain once more the mastery of those lands beyond the Alps, which already bear testimony to Gallic valour: soldiers, as yet untried in fight, behold the standards of battle! Go! and aspire to equal the veterans, victors of so many combats! learn from them to brave—from them to overcome, the hardships inseparable from war; and ever bear in mind that by valour, by discipline alone, can success be obtained. Soldiers, Buonaparte is with you; he comes to behold the fresh triumphs of his former companions. To Buonaparte prove that you are still the same brave men who, under his command, have always gained resplendent glory, and a name of universal renown. France, nay, the whole human race demand peace from your efforts. Give, then, by your noble deeds in arms, peace to France and to mankind."

These words inflamed to excess the minds of soldiers already so ardent and so brave by nature.

On the 17th of May, the whole body set out

from Martigny for the conquest of Italy. Extraordinary was their ardour, wonderful their gaiety, and astonishing also the activity and the energy of their operations. Chests, coffers, troughs, cannon, wheel-carriages, sledges, barrows, litters, horses, mules, harnesses, saddles, baggage and ammunition, of every decription, piled on pack-saddles, were assembled in one motley mass; in the midst of which the soldiers laboured to the utmost, while the officers, sparing no bodily exertion, were not less zealous and unremitting in their efforts. Laughter and song lightened their toils, repartees or good-humoured raillery passed from mouth to mouth: as if by common consent, however, they spared each other, and whatever was bitter in sarcasm, or pungent in wit, was directed against the Austrians. Thus proceeding, they seemed to be hastening, not to a fearful war, but to a festival; not to a dubious hazard, but to certain victory. The multitude of various and mingled sounds were re-echoed from hill to hill, and the silence of these solitary and desert regions, which revolving ages had left

undisturbed, was for a moment broken by the rejoicing voices of the gay and warlike.

The strange army, thus strangely assembled for the dangerous expedition, began the ascent by the steep hill in front of the hamlet of St. Pierre, which leads to the road passable for carriages. Precipitous heights, strong torrents, sloping vallies, succeeded each other with disheartening frequency. The prompt exertions of the soldiers were every instant demanded, to save the various vehicles which conveyed the artillery, from rolling down the precipices; and now supporting, now heaving and dragging the ordnance, they laboured unceasingly; while the more they laboured the more did the merriment of their jests and the ingenuity of their repartees increase. The slow-paced Vallenses collected in crowds from their houses, or more properly speaking, from their huts and caves; and, seeing a body of men so laboriously employed and yet so gay, they were lost in wonder, and could scarcely believe but that they were beings of another world. Being invited to

lend their assistance, and paid for their aid, they rendered it willingly, but not three of their number could effect as much as the zeal of a single Frenchman. I should be unwilling to repeat all that the soldiers jestingly said to these good people, as to the tardiness of their movements, and the strange fashion of their attire.

In this manner the republicans reached St. Pierre. Lannes, with his division, arrived first; for, owing to his incredible boldness and ardour, he was always chosen by the Consul to take the lead in every enterprize of danger—an honourable distinction, which he not only willingly accepted, but anxiously sought. They had now reached an elevation, where skill or courage seemed as nothing against the potency of nature. From St. Pierre to the summit of the Great St. Bernard there is no beaten road whatever, until is reached the monastery of the religious order devoted to the preservation of travellers bewildered in these regions of eternal winter; narrow and winding paths, over steep and rugged mountains, alone present themselves to the eye. But here the pertinacity of human resolution, the power of

human ingenuity shone conspicuous. Every means that could be devised was adopted for transporting the artillery and baggage; the carriages which had been wheeled, were now dragged, those which had been drawn, were carried; the largest cannon were placed in troughs and sledges, and the smallest slung on strong and sure-footed mules. And thus this same passage, which Trivulzi accomplished in the severest season of the year, hauling up the artillery of Francis the First, from rock to rock, over the wintry barriers, Buonaparte effected in the service of the republic by means of sledges, carriages, and beasts of burden.

The ascent to be accomplished was immense: in the windings of the tortuous paths the troops were now lost, and now revealed to sight. Those who first mounted the steeps, seeing their companions in the depths below, cheered them on with shouts of triumph; they answered in turn, and thus excited each other to their perilous and laborious task. The vallies on every side re-echoed to their voices. Amidst the snow, in mists and clouds, the resplendent arms and coloured uni-

forms of the soldiers appeared in bright and dazzling contrast; the sublimity of dead nature, and the energy of living action thus united, formed a spectacle of surpassing wonder. The Consul exulting in the success of his plans, was seen every where amongst the soldiery, talking with military familiarity to one, and now to another; and, skilled in the eloquence of camps, he so excited their courage, that, braving every obstacle, they now deemed that easy, which had been judged impossible. They soon approached the highest summit, and discerned in the distance the pass which leads from the opening between two towering mountains, to the loftiest pinnacle. With shouts of transport the soldiers hailed this extreme point as the termination of their labours, and with renewed ardour prepared to ascend. The Consul proposed their pausing to rest awhile from their fatigues, but rejecting the proffered indulgence, they replied; "*Let not that give you any concern, but only have a care to ascend yourself, and leave the rest to us.*" When their strength occasionally flagged under excess of fatigue, they beat their drums, and then

reanimated by the spirit-stirring sound, proceeded forward with fresh vigour. At last they reached the summit, and there felicitated each other, as if after complete and assured victory.

Their hilarity was not a little increased by finding a simple repast prepared in front of the monastery, the provident Consul having furnished the monks with money to supply what their own resources could not have afforded for such numbers. Here they were regaled with wine, and bread and cheese, and enjoyed a brief repose, amidst dismounted cannon and scattered baggage—amidst ice and conglomerated snow, while the monks passed from troop to troop in turn, the calm of religious cheerfulness depicted on their countenances. Thus did goodness and power meet, and hold communion on this extreme summit. Discoursing with the pious brethren, Buonaparte dwelt upon their own benevolence—on his wish to re-instate the Pope—to give security and the means of support to the clergy, and due authority to religion. He spoke of himself and of kings modestly—of peace desirously. The good hermits, unskilled in the art, and without either the

habit of feigning, or occasion to dissemble, believed him in every thing. As for him, whether affected by the piety of these holy brethren—by the sublimity of this lonely mountain, he suffered his sentiments to change, and bent his mind to desire, with earnest sincerity, that which he had expressed from calculating policy, I know not, nor would I dare to judge; for if, on the one hand, the moral and physical influence of the scene was persuasive to good; on the other, his disposition was marked by an incredible degree of pertinacity, and a scornful contempt of human nature. He rested but one hour in this benign asylum, and then commanded the advance of the troops.

They turned their steps towards the quarter where the Italian sky began to appear; and if the ascent had been laborious and perilous, the descent was still more fatiguing and hazardous, because the snow, touched by a milder air, began to thaw, and afforded but an uncertain support, and insecure footing; besides which, the mountain was much more precipitous on this than on the northern side; and it too frequently hap-

pened, that both men and horses, by the snow sliding from under them, were precipitated into the deep vallies, and, whelmed in the snowy abyss beneath, found burial ere life was yet extinct. The fatigue and danger the soldiers now underwent was incredible, and the progress they made but trifling. At last, growing impatient, they agreed to choose the summit where the snow was most solid, and to slide down from thence to Etrubles. The danger was great, but not less great was the merriment which accompanied the velocity of their grotesque flight, as they glided rapidly through the crumbling snow. In this manner the soldiers and officers of the main body, with the Consul himself, reached the point of their destination in safety, while those charged with the baggage joined them a little later, by a more circuitous route. When they were at length re-united at Etrubles, the expression of one common sentiment of joy at their success and safety spread from rank to rank; and, looking upward, towards the icy and rugged summits, they could scarcely yet believe that an entire army, with all its incumbrances, could have made

its way over barriers thus horribly deformed by the convulsions of distant ages, and sternly closed by the rigours of perpetual winter; but most of all they admired the constancy and the powerful mind of the Consul; and, from this prosperous commencement auguring well for the success of all his future enterprises, they could not but think, that to him who had overcome the perils of the Great St. Bernard all other undertakings would prove comparatively easy. And now they began to breathe the soft airs of Italy: the snows were half dissolved — the torrents flowed with increased volume—the dead rocks put on fresh verdure. Recalled to the recollection of their former campaigns by the genial influence of the balmy sky, the veteran soldiers shouted "Italy!" and, in glowing language, described to the young conscripts all that that name recalled. Speakers and hearers were quickly touched by an equal degree of enthusiasm; the one longing as much to revisit, as the other to behold, that land of beauty. To the former, memory recalled images already proved true by experience—to the latter, imagination depicted them enlarged and

brightened. Their force of purpose became most efficacious; and, to the enamoured fancy of these intrepid spirits Italy seemed to be already won—they thought not of battle, but of victory.

Their success, however, depended entirely on celerity. The Alpine regions they had reached were sterile, and the pass of St. Bernard, yet to be accomplished, was hazardous. It was necessary to descend at once to the plain, without affording Melas time to anticipate their arrival. It was also important, to prevent the rumour which had been industriously propagated of the return of the French, from diminishing. The Consul therefore descended hastily by the banks of the river Dora; and the van-guard sent on to reconnoitre, under the command of Lannes, reduced some places of small importance, and easily gained possession of the town of Aosta and the lands of Chatillon.

But a rude obstacle presented itself in the fortress of Bard, which, by its situation, is the key to the pass commanding the road in the narrow gorge which the valley forms at that spot. Pavetti had represented the reduction of that for-

tress, to the Consul, as an easy undertaking, so anxiously did he desire that the French should pass through the valley of Aosta, in order that his native district might be the first to be restored, as he believed, to liberty; but the result proved that an insignificant rock might be a powerful obstacle in the way of mighty designs. The Austrian commander refusing to surrender, the French endeavoured to take it by assault, but in vain; they planted their cannon against it, but without effect. The impetuous generals, chafing and fretting to find their progress arrested by a narrow rock, and a handful of soldiers, the garrison consisting of only 400 men, could not brook the affront of being thus stopped by the insignificant fortress of Bard—they whom neither the strength of Mantua, nor the eternal snows of the enormous St. Bernard could impede. They were aware that their march was already known in the plain, and that Melas, giving up this useless enterprise on the Varo, was hastening to support there the declining fortunes of Austria. Besides, the valley of Aosta was poor and sterile, unequal to the support of such an army, for

whom no supplies had been prepared, and which began already to feel the approach of want. In vain they consulted to find a remedy: none presented itself. They battered the rock from the houses of the valley, they battered it from the belfry of the church, with no effect, it was so well defended, and the peculiar stone it was built of was so hard that its strength defied all their efforts.

At length, finding it impossible to take the fortress, they resolved to seek a passage in another direction. To the left of Bard rise the irregular summits of Mount Albaredo, the highest part of which commanding the fortress, though the lowest is commanded by it. Berthier suggested the possibility of crossing by the upper range. In less than two days they cut steps in the steepest and hardest rocks, built parapets on the edge of the precipices, and threw bridges over the chasms, so that a path was now open beyond the reach of the guns of the fortress. This work was truly astonishing, and worthy of being commemorated in history. The men passed with security; but the artillery and baggage could not be

conveyed by so narrow and steep a path; and Lannes, who had already reached Ivrea, ran the risk of being attacked by the Austrians before the arrival of the cannon, without which no other arms avail in modern warfare. The pertinacity of the Consul had commanded a fresh assault of the fortress, which had had a disastrous result. Great was the danger on every side, for the time admitted of no delay; when, in the critical moment, Marmont devised a new stratagem:—he strewed the road they were to pass with manure and straw, wrapped the axles of the wheels with bands of hay, and, the carriages being drawn quickly along during the night, the ordnance happily cleared the gorge of the defile. When the Austrian commander became aware of the stratagem practised by the enemy, he opened a tremendous fire; but the celerity of their movements, and the darkness of the night, prevented the republicans from suffering any material loss in this extrardinary passage; and now, with all the implements of war at their command, they prepared to invade the Piedmontese territory. A short time after, Chabran, descending by the Lesser St. Bernard,

forced the commandant of Bard to capitulate, but granted the garrison their lives and effects, on condition of their not again bearing arms till an exchange of prisoners should take place.

Whilst the main body of the French army now debouched by Ivrea, the other divisions had not been idle; but, concurring in the execution of the general plan, had reached the stations appointed by the Consul. Bethancourt, descending by the Simplon, had made himself master of Domo d'Ossola; Moncey, quartered at Bellinzona, approached Lugano, and the banks of the Tesino, and the Adda. Thureau, still nearer at hand, scouring the country in the neighbourhood of the capital of Piedmont, had appeared first at Susa, then, marching on, had shown himself at Avigliana, after having captured a considerable number of the Austrians, who had endeavoured to block up his passage by occupying the lofty rocks where, before the war, the impregnable fortress of Brunetta had been situated:—such was the storm that the unparalleled design of the Consul drew down on every side on that tract of country which is comprised between the Dora and the Adda. The

Consul proposed to proceed to Milan by forced marches, justly believing that he should there find partisans, provisions, and money; and he hoped also, by his unexpected appearance, to surprise and overpower the dispersed bodies of Austrians, who dreamed of any thing rather than of his approach. He had also reason to believe that by occupying the banks of the Adige he should cut off from Melas the possibility of seeking the secure retreat of the Tyrol. Still more ably conceived was the idea of sending Lannes towards Chivasso, in order to persuade Melas that an attack on Turin was intended; and, his plans being thus arranged, the Consul took the necessary means for their execution.

Fearing an attack on Turin, the Austrians had placed an advanced guard on the bridge over the Chiusella, to the right of which they had planted four batteries, to prevent the enemy gaining this passage. This bridge being very long and narrow, it was difficult to gain possession of it. Lannes commanded his bravest troops to advance full speed, in hopes to force it by the impetus of a first attack; but the German artil-

lery swept the bridge; and the musketry, on their flank, showered such a fiery tempest, that the lacerated and bleeding troops were forced to retire. A fresh trial occasioned a fresh repulse. Twice again Lannes renewed the contest; and the result of each attempt became more and more fatal: still he persisted undismayed, although without effecting his purpose. In this emergency, Pavetti, who knew the ground perfectly, because the combat took place almost under the walls of his native Romano, informed the French general that to the left of the bridge there was a spot that might easily be forded, at the same time offering to guide the division himself. They accordingly forded the river with successful daring, and appeared unexpectedly on the right of the enemy, on which a mortal struggle ensued.

The Austrian commander, Palfi, received a deadly wound, whilst standing close to the bridge, encouraging his troops—an accident which gave victory to the French; who now, driving back the Austrians in turn, gained possession of that post. The defeated party effected a junction with their rear-guard on the heights of Romano,

and there endeavoured to make head against the foe; but, the French attacking them with increased courage and animation, they were obliged to abandon their camp.

No better success attended the charge made by Keim in the plain that lies between Romano and the hills of Montalenghe. The road was thus opened to Lannes as far as Chivasso, where he found considerable stores of provisions, which afforded welcome refreshment to his exhausted troops. Having done thus much to draw Melas to Turin, Lannes suddenly directed his standards to the left, and, marching with accelerated speed, followed the left bank of the Po to Pavia. The whole French force now threatened Milan. Murat, Bondet, and Victor, marched against Vercelli; Lannes was on the same front, but a little lower down; and, higher up, the Italian Legion, under Lecchi, crossed the country from Chatillon to Aosta, by way of Grassoney: they marched first to Varallo, and then to Orta; from whence they drove back the Prince of Roano, who was garrisoned there with a handful of Germans. The whole of this warlike front passing on

reached Vercelli, and there passed the Sesia, baffling the ineffectual opposition of Laudon, who had hastened to oppose them, they entered Novara, and prepared to cross the Tesino; the left wing had, in the mean time, been much increased by the junction of Lecchi with Bethancourt, who had descended from Domo d'Ossola. Laudon posted himself at Turbigo, in order to dispute the passage of the river; but Murat, who led the vanguard, having seized some boats that had been left at Galiate, gained the opposite bank, and drove away the German general from Turbigo, though not without loss. At the same time, the left wing was strongly re-inforced by the junction of the troops under Moncey, who, crossing the lakes of Lugano and Como, had met Lecchi at Varese. By these movements, which were as skilfully executed as they had been planned, the capital of Lombardy had already fallen into the hands of the French. Buonaparte, with the *elite* of his troops, entered Milan triumphantly on the second of June. I know not how to describe the rejoicings which this event occasioned in that capital; because, in revolutions, the last government is always

esteemed the worst, and the newest the best. In the present instance, however, the domination of the Germans had not been of the mildest kind; and that, not because in its own nature oppressive (with the exception of the affair of the prisoners at the mouths of the Cattaro), but because, in endeavouring to restore the ancient order of things, they had disturbed property, and offended public opinion. The heads of administration were fully persuaded that the return of the French was impossible: they therefore governed according to that belief; and their measures paved the way for fresh revolutions. Buonaparte now re-organised the Cisalpine republic: his ordinances commanded the public celebration of the rites of the Catholic church; enjoined respect to religion; and, in some cases of extreme culpability, menaced sacrilegious offenders even with the punishment of death. He established the security of property; recalled the exiled; annulled the sentences of confiscation; and forbade the notes of the bank of Vienna to pass current in future. Having thus planted in Milan the foundations of his power, he applied

himself anew to military affairs; for, although the campaign had so far been prosperous, its ultimate success was still undecided. The army of Melas was yet unbroken and entire on the right bank of the Po, while, at Genoa, Massena had been obliged to yield to the fortune of the confederates. Of this latter circumstance, however, the Consul was not then aware; and, believing his situation to be more secure than it really was, he sent out detachments to secure the districts of Lodi, Cremona, Bergamo, and Crema, where the French had formerly been seen by the inhabitants with extreme satisfaction. His intention was then to cross the Po suddenly, and to cut off from Melas all possibility of retreat; Lannes, in the meantime, by a sudden incursion, had made himself master of Pavia, where he found provisions in abundance and a considerable quantity of arms.

By the loss of Milan, Melas had been made aware of the danger of his own situation and of the strength of the enemy; and, seeing that there was no means of escape except by a pitched battle and complete victory, he endeavoured to

draw the war to the neighbourhood of Alexandria, on account of the support he should there receive from the citadel and the fort of Tortona. When he reached Alexandria, he commanded Esnitz, who had recently arrived from the Riviera,* to join him, and sent Otto, who, by the reduction of Genoa, was now left free to act, to Piacenza, in order to defend the passage of the river. But Murat anticipated Otto; and, although vigorously opposed, effected the passage, and possessed himself of Piacenza. At the same time Lannes crossed at Stradella, and pitched his camp at San Cipriano. Otto retired on Casteggio and Montebello. On the 9th of June, an obstinate contest took place at these two towns, which was but the prelude to another and fiercer combat, superior in force, and pregnant with more important results. Otto had posted the main body of his forces at Casteggio; had planted a strong battery on the right; had stationed his cavalry lower down, towards the plain; and had left a small body of reserve at Montebello. The French, led by Watrin, bore down on the Germans with tre-

* Of Genoa.

mendous impetus, but were received by them with no less steadiness. The event was doubtful for a long time, as the republicans several times gained possession of the steep hills at Casteggio, but were as often driven from them. For some hours, the Imperialists kept possession of this point, principally by the co-operation of the cavalry, which, issuing from behind the hedges, where they had remained in shelter, charged the enemy with fury. Watrin, thus broken, retreated with loss, and the battle would have been decided against the French but for the opportune arrival of Generals Chambarlhac and Rivaud, who, having been dispatched by Lannes, had forced their way to the scene of action through every obstacle. The latter entering into the midst of the fight, checked the progress of the enemy, and, giving fresh courage to the troops of Watrin, incited them to renew the attack: the Germans, however, defended themselves obstinately. In this critical moment, a large body of fresh troops, under Lannes, rushing impetuously into the heat of the battle, (as they were ever wont), forced the enemy to yield, and repulsing

them from Casteggio, drove them back to Montebello: but here, Otto steadily maintaining his ground, the combat raged more fiercely than ever, and the Germans were again beginning to prevail, when Buonaparte, who at this crisis appeared on the field, commanded Victor to charge the main body of the enemy with seven fresh battalions. The fury of the combat was now at its acme, for the Austrians defended the bridge with a strong train of artillery, which swept across it, whilst the French endeavoured to drive them from it at the point of the bayonet. This strife of fire and steel lasted for a time, (for the Austrians bravely supported the onset) till by the march of the divisions of Geney and Rivaud from the further extremity of the field Otto found himself nearly hemmed in on every side, and therefore retired to Voghera, leaving a garrison of about a thousand soldiers in the fortress of Tortona. The loss of the Austrians in this action was great, both in killed and prisoners, yet less by half than the numbers stated in the bulletins of Berthier. The French also lost considerably in killed—scarcely less than

their adversaries, but of their number very few were taken. Such was the battle of Casteggio, which lasted from seven in the morning till eight in the evening.

The difficulties of the passage of the Alps being surmounted by skill and courage, Lombardy suddenly over-run, the name of the Cisalpine republic revived, and the minds of the people roused to deeds of daring by an extraordinary enterprise, it still remained to confirm this auspicious commencement by some decisive battle, and thus secure to Buonaparte both the supreme authority in France and the absolute empire of Italy. If the conquest of this country, made by the conjoined efforts of Kray, Suwarrow, and Melas, had been quickly accomplished, it remained to be seen if the French leader could not effect the re-conquest more speedily still. Melas, as we have already related, had assembled his forces under the walls of Alexandria, in the strong position between the Bormida and the Tanaro. With an army of 40,000 men, strong in artillery, in chosen cavalry, in tried and disciplined infantry, he was in all respects well

furnished for a combat on which the fortunes of so many nations hung. Nor was he deficient either in ardour or skill, or in the confidence of recent victory; and he was, moreover, well aware of the vast importance of the impending battle.

On the other hand, the Consul was about to fight on those Italian fields which were already full of his brightest fame: his officers, young, confident, and brave, panted with incredible zeal to confirm the glorious destinies of France; his soldiers—a few only veterans, the greater number conscripts,—were not, like the Germans, inured to war; yet ardour, and hope supplied to them what was wanting in experience. In numbers, however, in cavalry, and in artillery, they were inferior to the enemy: the result of the combat therefore seemed sufficiently dubious. Melas, although thus unexpectedly attacked, although defeated at the Chiusella, and at Casteggio, appeared, notwithstanding, to have the greater probability of victory; nor can we sufficiently praise the skill and celerity with which, when aware of the Consul's design, he had assembled his army in the fields of Alexandria. The Consul ought to have perceived that his adversary's intention was to

give battle in this strong position, because he had fortified the banks of the Bormida with trenches and artillery; but, contrary to all probability, imagining that Melas wished to draw back towards Genoa, he had sent Desaix, who had recently arrived from Egypt, to Rivalta, on the road to Arqui; and he, in obedience to his orders, had already commanded the division of Boudet to move still nearer to the place:—a serious error, because he ought to have concentrated rather than have dispersed his force in presence of so powerful an enemy; and thus, through him, the whole fortune of France was on the point of perishing in the field of Marengo. Besides this, from a resolution, neither prudent nor rational, he had sent the division of Monnier, which, with that of Boudet, composed the left wing commanded by Desaix, to Castelnuovo, on the Scrivia, so that in this manner the whole of this wing, at a moment of such importance, was dispersed and disorganised. Melas occupied the village of Marengo, beyond the Bormida, by an advanced guard posted in the neighbourhood of Alexandria; and this village, the Consul commanded Gardanne to attack, who easily carried it, the Germans

making but a feigned and feeble resistance. This circumstance ought to have made Buonaparte aware that Melas, so far from meditating a distant march to Genoa, thought only of contesting the issue in the neighbourhood of Alexandria. However, being obstinate to an extreme in his ideas, he persisted in the belief that the Austrians intended to withdraw into Liguria, until in the end his scouts brought him intelligence from Rivalta and the banks of the Po, which removed his erroneous impressions, and convinced him that the mighty contest would be decided in the Alexandrian, and not in the Ligurian territory. He therefore commanded Boudet and Monnier to return in haste to the main body; but they were then so far distant that it was probable they would not arrive till the battle would be decided.

On the 14th of June, at five in the morning, Melas crossed the eventful Bormida. Esnitz, with the light infantry, and the chief strength of the cavalry, moving to the left of the Imperialists, marched towards Castel Ceriolo, by the road which leads to Sale, because the intention of the

Austrian commander was to take the French in the rear on that side, in order to cut them off from Pavia and Tortona, whence they communicated with the detachments on the left bank of the Po. Keim, with the heavy troops, moved towards the village of Marengo, by which the road to Tortona passes: this was the centre. A third division on the right, commanded by Haddick, with a body of Hungarian grenadiers led by Otto, were to ascend the left bank of the Bormida, to draw off at Fragarolo, and to join the centre near Tortona. He foresaw (and this was in fact the intention on both sides) that the principal struggle would be for the possession of Marengo, because all the movements of the French were directed to that point. The Austrian infantry was preceded by a formidable train of artillery, its harsh thunder giving fearful warning of the severe and murderous contest that was about to take place. Against this overpowering force the French were not equally matched in the early part of the combat; for, owing to the improvidence of the Consul,

Monnier was far off on the right, and Desaix on the left.

All their hopes, therefore, rested on the division of Victor, which was tolerably strong, at Marengo, and on that of Lannes stationed to the left of the road to Tortona. To these may be added about nine hundred soldiers of the consular guard, the cavalry under the command of the younger Kellermann, the squadron under Champeaux, and lastly, that under Murat. The first covered the infantry of Victor; the second, that under Lannes; and the last, posted at the extreme right of the whole front, guarded the road which led to Sale. Thus the French line of battle commencing at the Bormida, and obliquely seceding from it, passed by Marengo, and extended as far as Castel Ceriolo. Kein encountering Gardanne, who had been dispatched by Victor to Pietrabuona, an insignificant place between Marengo and the Bormida, bore him down with an overwhelming force. The remains of the routed band retired in disorder towards Marengo, and they would have been entirely surrounded and taken, if Victor had not

quickly sent Chambarlhac to their rescue. The Austrians came up and engaged in a horrible contest with Victor: here on both sides were performed deeds of stupendous valour; at last fortune inclined towards that (Keim) which had the superiority in numbers and artillery. Keim triumphantly entered Marengo; but though discomfited, Victor's ranks were not disordered, but in unbroken mass they still presented a menacing front to the enemy, and drew up behind Marengo. He was joined by Lannes on the right, and the combat was renewed with greater fierceness than ever. Keim was opposed to Lannes, Haddick to Victor; and whoever considers the temper of these generals, and that of their troops, will easily believe that never was a combat distinguished by greater skill or valour than this. Lannes was ably seconded in his attack on Keim by Champeaux and his cavalry, who in this *melée* received a mortal wound, of which he died a few days after. Kellermann with his squadron effectually supported Victor, leading on charge after charge in ceaseless succession. Notwithstanding this, Victor, having

been from the first in action, and Gardanne having suffered much in the affair of Pietra-buona, his troops were so exhausted, and his ranks so thinned, that he yielded the post at last, and retired precipitately, and not without some disorder, to St. Julian. Deprived on his left flank of the support of Victor, Lannes was also constrained to fall back, which allowed Keim to become still more master of the field, and led him to believe himself in secure possession of the victory. During this time, Esnitz had occupied Castel Ceriolo with the light infantry, and, with his horse, had extended his ranks in hopes of falling on the rear of the two bodies of the receding republicans; and if this design had succeeded, it would without doubt have given the victory to the Imperialists.

In this perilous situation, the only resource the Consul possessed was in the nine hundred soldiers of his own guard and in Murat's cavalry, which were certainly not able to make head alone against the numerous cavalry of Esnitz: he therefore commanded the advance of the nine hundred guards. I know not whether I ought most to laud their prowess, or condemn

the incapacity of Esnitz; but certain it is, that the German general, although he had hemmed them in on every side, was never able to break them; for, either he did not do all that he ought to have done, or the nine hundred did more than could be deemed possible. So numerous were the light troops under Esnitz, that he might have left a small part to have kept this consular guard in check, and might have made a spirited attack on the rear of the squadrons which were giving way. This, however, he did not do, but persisted in attacking this small body of the enemy with his whole force; but whether it arose from cowardice or error, this conduct on the part of Esnitz, and the heroism of the consular guard, who had obeyed the summons of the Consul with all possible speed, gave Monnier time to arrive from Castel Nuovo. He first came in contact with the troops of Esnitz; and, though surrounded by their numbers, he cut his way through them, gallantly assisted by the brave guard. St. Cyr, having driven the Tyrolese from Castel Ceriolo, made himself master of the village, and, with stakes and barricades, quickly entrenched himself there. Esnitz endeavoured to drive him

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out, but in vain: fortune however favoured him at this moment—Monnier and the consular guard were obliged to retreat; but, instead of following up his advantage, and pursuing the yielding enemy, he obstinately persisted in his attack on Castel Ceriolo. He was, however, constantly repulsed by St. Cyr, who kept him so long at bay, that this general was now the salvation of the whole French army, as the consular guard had been in the first instance: they, by their persevering resistance, had given time for the arrival of Monnier; while his skill and courage procured a delay that allowed Desaix to join the action. Melas in the mean time, hoping to profit by the favourable opportunity which fortune had afforded him, had sent forward his right wing, with the five thousand Hungarian grenadiers, in order to prevent the French from making head at St. Julian, to which place their movements seemed to be directed. It appeared probable, that the troops under Keim, already triumphant, and those of Esnitz, half victors on the one side, and half conquered on the other, would suffice for this object; but to ensure success, and to provide for the emergency which the

arrival of Desaix might occasion, Melas sent on the Hungarians far before the rest, of whom, as the body to whom the victory belonged, Zach, the quarter-master of the whole Austrian camp, took the command.

It was now five in the evening: the combat had already lasted for more than ten hours. The conquering Austrians exulted in success, while slender hope of recovery remained to the French, and that only in Desaix. The inhabitants of Alexandria believed that the arms of Austria had already obtained a decided victory, because the tremendous sounds which had spread terror within their walls in the morning had become more and more distant; and the sound of the battle-tumult now but faintly reached their ears. The Consul himself despaired; nor did he show, in this crisis of the battle, the presence of mind, the fortitude, or, in any respect, the temper worthy of him who had formed the admirable plan of this second invasion of Italy. As if bereaved of all judgment, he was wholly engrossed by the intense anxiety with which he watched for the arrival of Desaix. Whilst he still hesitated, filled with fears as great as his hopes were feeble, intelligence was brought

him that the first ranks of Desaix's squadron were beginning to appear at St. Julian; and now all his ardour returned. Any other than himself would, in a situation thus desperate, have made use of this reinforcement to secure a retreat; but the bold and all-powerful Consul employed it to renew the battle, and re-gain the victory. He now changed the order of his line; so that, diverging obliquely from Castel Ceriolo to St. Julian, St. Cyr was placed at the extreme point on the right, whilst first Monnier, and then Lannes, proceeded on the left towards St. Julian; and at this last place, across the road to Tortona, was Desaix stationed. The cavalry of Kellermann was posted in front, and the field was between Desaix and Lannes. Esnitz not having effected with his cavalry and infantry what Melas had expected, against the French right wing, the Austrian commander dispatched the 5000 Hungarians under Zach against their left, hoping that this compact body of powerful men would be able to break them, and to cut them off from the road towards Tortona. The Hungarian column, on which the fortune of the day depended, confident

in its strength, marched boldly against Desaix. The latter allowed them to approach before he fired; but, when they were within reach of his guns, he thundered on them with the artillery Marmont had assembled in front, and then discharged his own. For the first moment, dismayed by this severe reception, the Hungarians made a brief pause, but, quickly recovering from the shock, they marched on as if one solid and invincible mass. Nor could the French, being lighter-bodied troops, succeed in arresting their progress, although they surrounded them, and struggled against them with their utmost energy. The case here was similar to the battle of Fontenoy. Desaix, wholly undismayed by the danger, placed himself in front, reconnoitring the country to discover whether it afforded any advantage of ground, by which he might profit; when, struck on the breast by a ball from a musket, he found an almost instantaneous death. His last words to Lebrun (the generous son of a generous father) were these: "*Go and tell the Consul that I die grieving only that I have not done enough to live in the memory of posterity.*" Boudet succeeded

Desaix in the command; and neither was he himself disheartened by this grievous disaster, nor did his soldiers lose their courage; but, on the contrary, the desire of revenge stimulating spirits naturally valiant, they threw themselves on the five thousand with irresistible fury. Nor did the Hungarians succumb. It was a fearful and a mortal strife. The republicans were beginning to lose ground; their situation seemed desperate. But fortune decreed that the salvation of France should arise on the brink of utter ruin; and Kellermann was destined to effect the important rescue. In fact, whilst Boudet, who still endeavoured to maintain his ground in front, began, notwithstanding, to give way, Kellermann, with all the weight of his cavalry, attacked the Hungarian mass in flank, and, charging in between and across their files, divided the column in handfuls, and totally disordered it. Their ranks broken, their lines lost, intermingled with the French, entangled with one another, there remained to them no order, nor any means of defence. And hence, Kellermann continuing to press on them more vigorously, and Boudet returning to the

charge with fresh animation derived from this opportune aid, their whole body was constrained to lay down their arms. Thus that which the infantry and the artillery had failed to accomplish, the cavalry effected, exactly contrary to what had happened at Fontenoy, where the artillery effected what the cavalry and infantry had unsuccessfully attempted. Zach seems to have committed an important error in having advanced too far amongst the French troops; for, when he was so fiercely attacked, the other squadrons were too distant to afford him timely succour. In fact, he was too confident of victory. The disastrous fate of the Hungarian column gave every where the preponderance to the fortune of the French, who now pressing on, closed in the rear of the enemy, thus deprived of their principal support, and forced them to retreat with great loss and confusion. Melas gave the signal to collect his shattered forces, and he retired, vanquished, to that spot from whence he had set out in the morning with such well-founded hopes of victory. He but once again made head, and that in considerable numbers, at Marengo, to give time for the arrival of the

retreating squadrons, and then sought shelter beyond the Bormida. The French took up the same quarters they had occupied before the battle. Of the Imperialists there were killed 4,000 able veterans who had served in the Italian campaigns, 7,000 were wounded, and 8,000 remained prisoners in the hands of the enemy. The French loss was 3,000 killed, and 4,000 wounded, but few were made prisoners, because of the number taken in the early part of the day the major part were liberated by their fellow-soldiers at the moment of their unexpected victory.

This battle, which changed the lot of Europe for fourteen years, was rather gained by the French than by Buonaparte, the valour of the soldiery having retrieved the mistake of the commander. The victory was principally owing, first to Cara St. Cyr, by his having taken and kept Castel Ceriolo; to Victor, by his obstinate defence of Marengo; to Boudet by his firm resistance of the Hungarian body; and finally, and above all, to the able and gallant Kellermann, who, seizing the opportune moment, did not hesitate to charge into the midst of that unbroken and solid mass,

which, to all appearance, by its weight alone would prostrate his force the moment he should appear before it.

His comrades congratulated him on his glorious achievement; but, when he came into the presence of the Consul, the latter accosted him with his accustomed haughty air of superiority; and, without questioning him as to the events of the day, merely said: "*That was rather a fine charge than not that you made.*" The youthful soldier indignantly replied: "*I rejoice that you appreciate it, since it places the crown on your head.*" The Consul, who never liked his designs to be discovered before he declared them himself, took umbrage at this, and ever after showed himself unfriendly towards the son of the marshal, to whom he never granted rank or honours in any degree equal to his merits.

On the other side, Melas had judiciously planned his attack; and it appears that no fault could be found with his manœuvres. The chief praise on the side of the Austrians was due to Keim, who routed, first, Victor, then Lannes, and obliged them both to retreat. The courage of

Zach merits encomium; but his imprudence deserves censure, in having advanced too far amongst the enemy. As for Esnitz, it does not appear that he accomplished what Melas had charged him to effect, or fulfilled the expectations which had been formed of him. He persisted in assaulting small bodies of troops, and insignificant points of attack strongly fortified,—a service for which light-armed squadrons are wholly unfit, instead of scouring the plain, and falling on the enemy in flank and rear, the service best adapted to the troops he commanded, and which would have been acting conformably to the orders he had received from Melas.

The Austrian Generalissimo had still force sufficient, after the battle, to make an effectual stand in the strong position in which he had entrenched himself; a resolution he might the more easily have executed, for, being sufficiently well provided in cavalry, he possessed the means of scouring the country to procure provisions: but, whether intimidated by his recent defeat, or deceived by the arts of Buonaparte, who constantly asserted his willingness to adhere to the

treaty of Campo Formio, and his desire to bestow on every territory under his command a form of government less oppressive to the people, and fraught with less danger to princes, Melas showed no disposition to make further resistance, and demanded a truce. The terms were glorious to France, humiliating to Austria, and alarming to Europe at large. All offensive operations were discontinued until the arrival of the definitive answer of the Court of Vienna. The Imperial army took up its station between the Mincio, Fossa Maestra, and the Po; occupied Peschiera, Mantua, Borgoforte, and the right of the river Ferrara, retaining also possession of Tuscany; while the republicans occupied the country between the Chiesa, the Oglio, and the Po; but the tract between the Chiesa and the Mincio was exempt from the soldiers of either party. The fortresses of Tortona, Alexandria, Milan, Turin, Pizzighettone, of Arona, and Piacenza, were consigned to the republicans; Cuneo, the castles of Ceva and Savona, Genoa, and the strong Urbano fell also into their possession. Those who had shown themselves favourable to the Austrians, either by

expressed opinions, or services rendered to them, were not to be in any way held responsible, nor to be molested; and such of the Cisalpine republicans as had been incarcerated on account of their political opinions were to be set at liberty. Whatever might be the answer from Vienna, hostilities were not to be re-commenced till ten days after its arrival; nor during the truce was either party to send troops into Germany. Such were the terms agreed on at Alexandria; and thus did one French victory destroy the fruits of twenty German or Russian triumphs. The truce, which was several times renewed by common consent, at an interval of ten days, was finally, by a new and express convention, definitively extended to the twenty-fifth of November.

The victor of Marengo had the fate of Europe in his hands,—happiness or misery, peace or war, civilization or barbarism, the liberty or slavery of nations. Civil glory, equal to his military renown, now awaited him; but a passion for warlike fame, and a wild and untameable lust of power, left no scope for pacific virtues,—a circumstance for ever to be deplored. He was

received at Milan in triumph: there they called him the unparalleled man, the matchless hero, the incomparable model, with every other praise, that Italian adulation best knows how to invent; while France, on her part, re-echoed these flatteries. The good Milanese boasted that he was come to give new liberty to his beloved Cisalpine people. He himself spoke much of peace, of religion, of literature, and of science. He formed in that capital a legislative council, and a commission of government with executive power, and created a minister-extraordinary of France, giving this office to one Petiet, who had been minister of war in the time of the Directory. To the delight of all the worthy, he re-opened the University of Pavia, that had been closed by the suspicious Germans. To the professors, whom he selected amongst the most celebrated, the most learned, and the most virtuous men, he granted liberal stipends, so that the University flourished with fresh vigour, and the times of Joseph the Second seemed to have returned; yet the military domination under which they lived showed the people that the age was far different.

All the while his proceedings differed much from what they had formerly been: he no longer caressed, but even repulsed the ardent lovers of revolution, whilst he collected round him those who were aristocratical in their sentiments, provided they were moderate in those sentiments, wealthy, and of good reputation. Melzi, Aldini, Birago, Dr. Moscati, Scarpa, the Bishop of Pavia, Gregory Fontana, Marescalchi, and Mascheroni, were distinguished by his favour. These proceedings did not please the most violent democrats, and amongst themselves they called him an aristocrat, and even a tyrant, though in public they never ceased to proclaim him a god. The new heads of the Cisalpine government placed unbounded confidence in all his actions and all his words, and promised themselves the independence of their country. For the rest, although the mode of acting was more regular, and although appearances were better preserved, yet the extortions and peculations were much the same, and Lombardy began to suffer under its former evils. When the newly elected magis-

trates took their seats, Petiet pronounced an elaborate discourse in praise of France, lauded the Consul, spoke of Beccaria, harangued on liberty, on independence, on their high and magnificent destinies, and praised Italy with rhetorical embellishments, calling her the mistress of letters, of philosophy, of politics, and asserting that she was not formed to be the tributary of a foreign prince. To this oration the president of the council replied in a similar strain.

The Cisalpine republic being thus re-organised, the Consul returned to France. He passed through Turin, where he shut himself up in the citadel, and would not allow himself to be seen, not wishing, out of respect to the Emperor Paul, who favoured the king, to suffer himself to be pledged to any promises. And certain it is, that, although his own mind was strongly averse to the proposition, he had nevertheless offered to restore Charles Emanuel to his ancient throne, on condition of his giving up Savoy and Nice. He returned also to his old idea of giving the Cisalpine territory to that king, provided he

would make an effectual renunciation of Piedmont, which he coveted with the keenest desire. This proposal, however, was not accepted by the monarch, partly from religious motives, partly because he did not wish to conclude any thing without the consent of his allies, and more especially of the Emperor Paul, and of England. Nor did he wish to give an excuse to Austria, in case the fortune of France should again retrograde, for taking possession of Piedmont; and though he had no great cause to be satisfied with her, yet he nevertheless abhorred the idea of appropriating to himself the spoils of another. Notwithstanding these proffers and these negociations, the Consul created in Piedmont, as he had done in Lombardy, a commission of government, not as a final arrangement, but merely to intimidate. To this he promoted many men celebrated for learning and for moderation,—Galli, Bottone of Castellamonte, Braida, Avogadro, Cavalli, and Rocci, to the executive commission; and to the council, the Bishop of Novara, Capriata, the two professors Regis and Pavesio, both learned and pacific priests, Tosi,

Botta,* Lombriasco, another Avogadro, Bay, Pacciudi, Nizzati, and Chiabrera. As minister extraordinary to this government, he appointed first General Dupont, and then, as a recompense to the victor of Fleurus, Jourdan.

At this time the situation of Piedmont was beyond all description miserable: an extreme scarcity, and the rapine of the soldiery, while it was occupied by the confederates, had reduced the country to great poverty; nor were the Imperial commissioners wanting in fraud and oppression; the insolence was less, but the rapacity the same. The Piedmontese knew neither what to hope, nor what to fear, nor what to desire, since change of rulers produced to them no change of fortune. They cursed their destiny, which had made them weak amongst the strong; nor was this the whole of their misfortunes. Bills of credit, long and lamentable, the plague of the country, and which were constantly diminishing in value, had placed every sort of property in confusion and doubt; every species of trade was at a stand; the prices of provisions were exces-

* The author.

sive; the poor, who had no *cedules*, for the smallest were of the value of twenty lire,* suffered immoderately. At length the evil became so great, that all traffic was carried on by barter in kind, and a tariff of relative values was published: but the mischief had been already done, and there remained all the embarrassments arising from anterior contracts. The council, although abounding in learned and able lawyers, found it a difficult task to adjust these matters, for whatever might be their assessment, no one was pleased with the sentence, however just the law might be. This was the great source of discontent; nor was it a trivial accession to their misfortunes that the heavy burthen was imposed on them of supporting the troops of France, as well those who were stationary, as those who were passing through—an expenditure too great for the finances of Piedmont. Massena, when appointed Generalissimo of Italy by the Consul, demanded a million per month for the support of the troops, and that the Piedmontese should likewise main-

* A lire in Piedmont is about fifteen pence British money. *Tr.*

tain the garrisons. On succeeding to Massena, Brune agreed that they should pay a million monthly, as a supply to the French military chest; but, when the million was paid, the soldiers were still in want, and Piedmont was obliged to provide the deficiency; for, if what they had need of was not given to them, they took it by force. Jourdan, who was humane and upright, wished to correct all this, but the peculators understood their business better than he did: there was no remedy, there was no peace to be had. In addition, the orders they were expected to fulfil were arbitrary and capricious: now a fortress was ordered to be demolished at the expense of the Piedmontese, and then again the same edifice was commanded to be re-built at their cost also; now the French demanded the lead of the cupola of the Superga,* which would

* The Superga is a hill five miles from Turin, commanding exquisite views of that town, the river, &c. It was here that Prince Eugene and Victor Amadæus met, in 1706, to concert the best measures for driving the French out of the capital of Piedmont. The church of the Superga was built to fulfil a vow made on this occasion by Amadeus, in case of success.

Tr.

in the first place have ruined the edifice by admitting the water; then they ordered the bastions of the royal gardens to be removed,—a useless labour, because the city was already completely dismantled; and if it had not been for the steadiness of the governor, the Superga and the gardens, the favourite walk of the Turinese, would have been destroyed. One demanded money for the provisions of the soldiers, another for their clothing; these for the hospitals, those for the ordnance, the roads, or the barracks. The demands were capricious, the expenditure excessive, the finances wholly exhausted; and every thing was in turmoil and confusion.

But another misery, besides those already related, afflicted Piedmont, and rendered a well-administered government impossible. This was the uncertainty which hung over the future destiny of the country. The offers the Consul had made to the king were known, which rendered the royalists sullen, the republicans cautious: those hoped, these feared; and between timidity in issuing orders and hesitation in obeying them, a state of anarchy ensued. When inter-

rogated, the Consul would not declare himself openly, but wrapped himself up in ambiguities. Some, from the encouragement he gave the republicans, argued that he would not give up Piedmont to the king, others judged, from that very circumstance, that he would restore Charles Emanuel: the democrats insulted the aristocrats, who in turn laughed at the republicans. The first hoped for a republican form of government, the second thought the restoration of the monarchy certain. These last had the upper hand; for not a few of the principal men who had arrived from France, for the purpose of examining into the administration of military affairs (where their superintendance was much required), lived at the houses of the chief nobility; and, either from flattery, or from the desire of appearing to belong to the old times, they continually ridiculed those who served the new government. One gave himself out for a count of ancient lineage, another for a marquis, and a third for a viscount, or, at the very least, a baron; not perceiving how thoroughly they were themselves, in turn, despised by the Piedmontese nobles, who

are so peculiarly acute and penetrating. In the mean time, these agitations deprived the government of its strength; and those very men who demanded most from its labours rendered those labours useless. This proceeded from levity and ingratitude, not from malice, for they were not capable of feeling either love or hatred. I know not whether in the midst of such grave matters I ought to speak of the folly of the democrats, who did not perceive the trap they had fallen into. I must not, however, omit to mention the return of Ranza* to Piedmont. The things that

* Ranza was a humanity professor at Vercelli, and was considered to possess both talent and learning. His strange humour afforded his countrymen so much amusement, that he was permitted to indulge his eccentric vein to the utmost. "*It is Ranza*" was esteemed a sufficient excuse for what would have been not only absurd but mischievous in another. Acknowledged extravagance is seldom dangerous. He wrote, besides diurnal pasquinades, a variety of political tracts; amongst others, "The Catechism of Tyrants." On the creation of the Italian kingdom, he publicly celebrated the funeral of the Cisalpine republic. His own, which took place no long time after this remarkable masquerade, which was attended by the same idle crowd, was one of the most splendid Turin had seen in modern times. When the convoy arrived

he said, and those that he printed, it is needless to speak of; they are already sufficiently known: strange to say, his greatest and worst extravagances were uttered when he was in prison, at Vigevano, in the power of the Russians, which he would also have printed if he had been able. Sometimes he wrote against the priests, sometimes against the friars, now against the aristocrats, now against the democrats, now against the government, and now against the governed. One day he made a large bonfire in the Castle-square, on which he burned the writings of a friar to whom he was opposed, the populace following him in crowds. Every day the press threw off his marvellous gazettes, and he as regularly stuck up his enormous placards against the walls himself, and as soon as it was reported that Ranza had appeared, the populace ran in crowds, trampling

at the gate of Madama, through which funerals are not allowed to pass, except on occasions of peculiar solemnity, the words "*It is Ranza*" opened wide its jealous portal to bestow an honour on extravagance which would have been denied to wisdom. Ranza's son lives at Vercelli, and has some eminence as an architect.—*Tr.*

on each other's heels, to the spot. He began to say that there were too many aristocrats in Piedmont: when reproved, he maintained that they were all aristocrats. The government, who did not understand his character, endeavoured to stop him, but in vain; he persisted in saying that all were aristocrats, and the governors more so than others; so, as the least dangerous part to be taken, he was allowed to say what he pleased. But public opinion was perverted, calumny found powerful support in envy, and there was no longer any means of ruling the people. I have wished to speak of this Ranza, and perhaps I have done so more at length than was becoming, but I have been induced to do so by the idea that there are but too many Ranzas in Europe, and most in those countries which are, or believe themselves, free.

The fate of Piedmont being left uncertain, faction began to revive and to become more venomous. Some espoused the French interests, some the Italian, some the Piedmontese; friends hated each other, and enemies became reconciled: there was no nerve of opinion. An act of the Consul,

by which he gave both the Upper and Lower Novarese to the Cisalpine government, increased the uncertainty and discontent. Prina, a Novarese, then Minister of Piedmont, had been the first to suggest and advise this dismemberment of his country; which may show what sincerity and what loyalty there was in those times. This sinister event greatly agitated men's minds in Piedmont, because they thought that Buonaparte wished to restore it to the king. The government protested against it; and the Consul, who knew very well what he was about, expressed his wonder at all these hopes, and fears, and protestations; but he did not explain himself, and doubt, and faction, and the difficulties of the government increased. Piedmont was the sport of a tempestuous whirlwind.

Amidst all these fatal commotions, the government, which was then called the "Executive Commission," and which consisted of Bossi, Botta, and Giulio, had the consolation of executing one useful design, which was to appropriate a sum of five hundred thousand francs of yearly revenue to the University, and to the colleges, and their

dependencies. This institution was really beneficial and magnificent, and can only be compared to that founded in the United States by the liberality of the Congress, and that established in Poland by the munificence of the Emperor Alexander.

But this was small consolation for such times, when misfortune superabounded, and the Piedmontese continued to live in disorder, in discord, in slavery, in want, till Buonaparte found the opportunity to lead them to a state of greater security.

The fate of Genoa was not less unhappy, partly from the same, partly from dissimilar causes. By the convention of Alexandria, Hohenzollern had given up Genoa, but not without having first, by the command of Melas, exacted a million from sixty of the richest merchants—a loan, as he phrased it, for the use of the army. The French, under Suchet, entered the desolated city on the 24th of June. Of what nature, and how great, are the miseries and the grievances resulting from this frequent change of masters every man can judge. The French treated

Genoa harshly, as if she had come whole and uninjured out of the hands of the Germans; the Germans had treated her harshly, as if she had come flourishing and rich out of the hands of the French.

The Consul created here, as in Lombardy and Piedmont, an executive commission, and a legislative council, and appointed General Dejean Minister Extraordinary of France. The executive commission appointed consisted of John Baptista Rossi, Augustine Maglione, Augustine Pareto, Girolamo Serra, Antonio Mongiardini, Louis Carbonara, and Louis Lupi, men illustrious for virtue, and who, amidst the disturbances of the times, conducted themselves with moderation. Nor was there less worth found in those who were selected for the council,—Louis Corvetto, Emanuel Balbi, Girolamo Durazzo, Cæsar Solari, Joseph Fravega, Nicholas Littardi, Joseph Deambrosis, with several others, to the number of thirty. At the assembling of these magistrates, the customary flatteries passed on both sides; but on this occasion, however, more on the part of the minister of France than on that of the Genoese

government. Dejean spoke of the good faith and generosity of the Consul, and pledged the fidelity of France to consolidate, at the general peace, the liberty and independence of the Ligurian republic. This was soothing language to Genoese ears, but what followed had a touch of bitterness; and this was, that if the war were renewed, the city was to contribute towards the disbursements. Much that was praiseworthy was inculcated by the minister,—oblivion of offences, and pardon to transgressors: "such was the will of the Consul, such the dictates of humanity, and such was alone the true interest of the state." Rossi, the President, replied, not without pomp of language, but in the corrupt style of true Italian servility, that "this day was the happiest amongst the happy days of the republic; that the council would labour to secure the tranquillity and liberty of their country; that Liguria, as a maritime state, desired only peace: for the rest, the republic and the citizens were alike poor, yet comfort was derived from the promises which had been made, and from the character of the magistrates who had been elected. The destiny

of Genoa was, doubtless, brighter and more certain than that of Piedmont; for France had promised her independence; and, on this account, there was greater strength in the internal government of Liguria, and less daring in the factious part of the community, than in Piedmont." Dejean earnestly exhorted the members of the new institution to be guided by experience only, and to lay aside those abstract principles and dangerous theories which had proved the fruitful seed of revolution. From this it appears that Dejean had divined the views of the Consul, and that the Consul judged of human nature with great sagacity and truth.

There were, as we have said, in the executive commission moderate and upright men; but notwithstanding, excited by the clamours of the democrats, they prescribed a law of indemnity, of which the least that could be said was, that it was contrary to the capitulation of Alexandria. Compensation for losses from defaulters and enemies of the state—for thus were called the partisans of Austria, and of the old regime, was to be made; and, if they did not possess the amount of

the fine imposed, the commune was taxed to pay it; a law that would have proved a source of intolerable oppression. Dejean remonstrated seriously with the government on this erroneous proceeding, reminding them of the treaty of Alexandria, and of the wishes of the Consul. The Genoese no longer persisted in the attempt, and the minister of France increased in reputation, while the Consul rejoiced in an opportunity of openly showing favour and protection towards the partisans of the ancient government. In this state things continued; the finances, though weak, were obliged to supply the expenses of the state, and to support the foreign soldiery. Keith commanded the sea, and blockaded the port. Genoa, ever doomed to servitude, was ruined now by want, now by the sword. Reduced to these cruel straits by foreign force, the city was yet further afflicted by a pestilential disease, which reached a fearful height ere it could be overcome, not fewer than 2,000 perishing in a single month. In fine, of the three adjoining states, the following was the condition:—in Piedmont there was a dearth of provisions, the plague of a paper

circulation, and uncertainty as to the future; in Lombardy, abundant supplies, a sufficient revenue, and stronger hopes of becoming, if not a free state, at least a new one; in Genoa, famine, pestilence, and exhausted finances: while, in all the three, there was slavery, the rulers being the mere agents of France.

In the mean time fortune was preparing for Buonaparte the most solid foundation he could have desired, on which to build his designs—a foundation stronger than the force of arms, stronger than the voice of fame. Pius the Sixth having died during his captivity in France, Cardinal Chiaramonti had assumed the pontificate in the conclave of Venice, under the name of Pius the Seventh; and as he feared Austria, and confided in France, the Consul hoped to bring him over to his designs, by caressing the church: consequences of the greatest importance were the result.

The Romans received the news of the election of the Pope with lively demonstrations of joy; for they were under the domination of the Neapolitans, and hoped that a sovereign of their own

would free them from the rule of a foreign lord. On the 9th of June, Pius the Seventh set out from Venice, and, after a toilsome passage, reached the port of Ancona on the 25th, having previously sent on the Cardinals Albani, Roverella, and Somaglia, with authority to receive the government from the agents of Ferdinand, and to give some arrangement to the disordered administration. On the 3d of July he entered Rome, and was hailed by the inhabitants with the accustomed demonstrations of joy. He now appointed new pastors for the church, and new magistrates for the state, and restored every thing, as far as was practicable, to the ancient order. The initiative proceedings of his reign were mild, and the same mildness marked his subsequent measures; nor did the partisans of republicanism suffer any molestation. He commanded that the church property sold during the time of the French government should revert to the apostolical chamber, with the reservation of one-fourth of the value to the recent proprietors. Wishing to provide, on one hand, for the wants of the chamber, and, on the other, to favour the interests of the com-

munes and individuals, but a short time elapsed ere he adopted an ameliorated mode of taxation. Desiring to free the communes from the burden of the public debt, he transferred it to the pontifical chamber, excepting however the debts contracted for the provision of the city, and the interest accruing from previous engagements. He relieved the communes from the mounts,* investing them in the state; but, at the same time, decreed that, till the revenue should be reimbursed, two-fifths of the interest of the mounts should be paid into the treasury. Four-fifths of the interest was to be paid to those who drew from the mounts profits expiring at a given time, and he exempted these establishments of whatever nature, perpetual or terminable, from every species of tax or contribution. He abolished all customary fees, such as those arising to sheriffs (bargelli), those on renewed patents, and those on dead horses; or transferred them for the benefit of the communes. The burthen of contribution he made more equal and uniform, reducing all imports to two denomi-

* Banks paying annuities on property made over to them, whether capital or the rents of lands or houses, &c.

nations, and abolishing every privilege and ancient custom contrary to the impartiality of his system. One class was called Loyalties, and the other Donatives. The first consisted of four divisions: a land-tax of seven pauls in every hundred crowns value on rural property; an imposition of two pauls in the hundred crowns on palaces and town houses; five crowns in the hundred on the transfer of interest, or annuities; a tax on absentees, of the sixth part of the returns of every description of capital, whether in natural products, agriculture, manufactories, or civil possessions. The donatives consisted of a tax on salt, on grain, and oil, and a duty of three pauls on every barrel of wine which entered Rome. The fathers of twelve children and the mendicant orders were exempted from the above taxes. These regulations were judicious, and were rendered much more beneficial by the service the republicans had done the state in destroying the paper currency.

The Consul did not omit to give the affairs of the Roman state due consideration. He clearly perceived, that if peace with the kings of Europe

were likely to prove an effectual means of power, his ambition would receive still more effectual aid from peace with the church; and when he heard that Cardinal Chiaramonti had been elevated to the pontificate, he conceived still brighter hopes; knowing him to be endowed with sincere piety, and therefore the more easy of persuasion. The offers of the Consul were of the last importance, because the re-establishment of the Catholic religion in France not only restored one great realm to the Holy See, but tended to preserve it pure and intact in others; since there is no doubt that if France had persevered in her wanderings in matters of religion, other countries would sooner or later have been contaminated by her example. For these reasons Pius the Seventh lent a willing ear to the overtures of the Consul; and when each party had sounded the intentions of the other, they entered into the detail of the negociation. The progress and the final adjustment of these matters we shall relate in the following book, with our accustomed candour.

Buonaparte triumphed on shore—Nelson ruled the seas. When intelligence of the victory of

Aboukir was received at Naples, the Maltese conceived hopes, that the preponderance of England in the Mediterranean would prevent the French from sending succours to the island; and, rising on every side against the conquerors, they obliged them to confine themselves in Valetta, which, being of great strength, both by nature and art, could not easily be forced. Vaubois commanded the garrison; but the number of defenders which, at the commencement of the siege, had amounted to four thousand, were, by sickness, soon reduced to two. The crews of the *Guillaume Tell*, *La Diane*, and *La Justice*, ships which had escaped from the destruction at Aboukir, were landed on the island; and, under the command of Admiral Dacres, co-operated in the defence. Some Portuguese ships, under the command of the Marquis of Nizza, were assembled round the island, and quickly blockaded the port. Nor was Nelson long in arriving with his victorious fleet, and all hope was now lost, if any had been entertained, of relieving the besieged. Ferdinand assisted in the attack by furnishing two frigates, by supplying the inhabitants with arms and

ammunition, and by preventing the French from receiving provisions from Sicily; while a strong body of English, stationed on the island, co-operated with the Maltese, and prevented the besieged from making any sorties. Several times Nelson summoned Vaubois to surrender; but in vain. The French began to suffer severely from the want of provisions, of clothing, and of money, whilst disease rapidly increased among them. Yet, notwithstanding all these evils, the resolution of Vaubois was not to be shaken, nor his vigilance remitted. To provide for his pecuniary wants, he obliged the principal inhabitants of Valetta to give him promissory notes, to be paid by France at the general peace; and with these he paid the soldiers; to clothe them he exacted linen and cloth; to supply them with food, he demanded supplies of flour; he obliged the inhabitants to take their flour from him; and he bred rabbits and poultry, so that they supplied him for a long time. The scurvy raged among the men, but he combated it by cultivating green herbs in the most advantageous places. One Nicholas Isoard, a Maltese professor of music, composed

operas, which they performed, and sung, and danced: hunger, however, was pressing. The governor endeavoured to send the *Guillaume Tell* to France for succour, but the watchful and active English captured the vessel; yet Vaubois was ever vigilant, and provided with admirable prudence against every accident. The Maltese without conspired with those within; yet Vaubois detected their plots, and baffled every assault—astonishing prowess in men dying of hunger and disease. In sight of the besieged, three vessels, from Toulon, loaded with provisions and ammunition, and a reinforcement of three thousand men, fell into the hands of Nelson. Every day, every hour, the famine increased. They sent out the useless mouths. The English, as if there had been any danger of supplies, barbarously drove them back to the town. Many died under the walls; the others, more dead than alive, were received again by the French. Vaubois foresaw, that the ultimate close of all this was fast approaching; yet, as a last hope, to preserve the fortress, if possible, he sent to sea the two frigates, *La Diane* and *La Justice*: the first was taken; the second reached the ports of France in safety. Hunger

at last overcame valour, and he agreed to surrender, on the 5th of September, but on honourable terms. The garrison were to remain prisoners till the first exchange, and were then to be sent to France at the expence of England; nor was any Maltese to be molested for aught done or said in favour of the French. Thus, a brave garrison of veterans, of the army of Italy, was lost to France, a strong island, the bridle and the defence of the Mediterranean, fell into the power of England; and the fragments that had escaped from the Egyptian ruin,—destroyed or taken, swelled the triumphs of Nelson. Glorious certainly was the conqueror of Malta; but not without glory also was its defender—for neither greater courage, nor greater fortitude, nor greater ingenuity, could have been desired in Vaubois. Deserted by all, he struggled for two years; and was at last overcome, not by arms, but by that scourge which always takes from man the strength, and often, too, the will to resist.

Whilst England, who already possessed, in Gibraltar, the key of the Mediterranean, strove, by the attack on Malta, to secure a safe station

there also, Russia and the Ottoman Porte arranged the constitution of the Ionian Isles. It was agreed, that the leading men of the country should form a republican government; and that this republic, like that of Ragusa, should be a vassal of the Porte, and should acknowledge its superiority by a legation expressly sent to Constantinople, with a yearly tribute of seventy-five thousand piastres, which should free the islands from every impost, or contribution to Turkey. The Republic of the seven islands was to have the same privileges as the Ragusans, and to arrange her own internal form of government, which the two powers were to guarantee. If it should prove necessary, Russia and the Porte were to retain the right of sending ships to the islands, and troops as garrisons, during the present war, and no longer. The republicans were to enjoy the free navigation of the Black Sea,—Russia guaranteed the integrity of the islands, and its acknowledgment by her allies. Prevesa, Parga, Vonizza, and Butintro, districts on the terra firma of Epirus, were ceded to the Porte, but under the same restrictions, and en-

joying the same privileges as the Christians of Wallachia and Moldavia. No Mahometans could possess property within their limits;—the Christians were to be exempt from the payment of any tax for two years, and were licensed to re-build their church; and a greater tribute than that which they had paid to Venice was never at any period to be demanded by the Porte. The form of government chosen by the islanders was, a council of notables, with legislative power, and a president with executive authority:—and thus the Venetian islands, surrounded by fearful wars on every side, attained a condition that was not only tolerable, but prosperous, and so remained sufficiently happy for several years. But other wars, and other schemes of ambition, arose once more to disturb them.

The suspension of hostilities did not slacken the preparations for war on either side. Whilst the war was carried on in Germany and Italy, Buonaparte never ceased to raise fresh levies, which were sent as re-inforcements, as occasion demanded, to the German or Italian army; and at Dijon he had collected a large body under Murat,

which menaced Italy and Germany alike. On her side Austria was not negligent: her levies were principally raised in Hungary, whence they were sent to strengthen the divisions on the frontiers. The army defeated at Marengo was still entire, and ready to combat anew; but no small hopes for the future were formed by the Court of Vienna on the movements in Tuscany, which, placed by the convention of Alexandria out of the French dominion, and consequently under that of Austria, followed the wishes of the Emperor. A violent enmity still nestled in Tuscany against the republicans, a hatred which had become excessively rancorous, and which the clergy did not cease to foment; whilst the regency appointed in the name of the Grand Duke laboured to excite the populace to the same end. The Marquis of Sommariva, sent by the Emperor to form this disorderly multitude, armed and embodied them, and, with indefatigable efforts laboured to complete the work committed to his care. As peace or war, however, was still uncertain, it could not be said that this proceeding of the Tuscan government

was contrary to the convention. But these Tuscan bands knew neither obedience nor discipline, and, urged on by their hatred to the republicans, burst from the confines, and, roaming over the mountains which divide Tuscany from the Modenese and Bolognese territories, committed many outrages on the inhabitants. These movements were the cause of some alarm to the republicans, and they profited by the occasion of complaint thus afforded, to demand from Tuscany and Sommariva, not only the punishment of the invaders, but the dissolution of the armed bands of peasantry. Sommariva made no satisfactory reply, but continued to over-run the country at pleasure. This caused the Consul, who was also allured by the desire of possessing Leghorn, to form the resolution of occupying Tuscany by an armed force. To this intent he commanded Dupont instantly to cross the Appenines, and make himself master of Florence; Monnier was directed to dislodge the troublesome horde of insurgents then assembled; and Clement, marching lower down, was to effect the seizure of Leghorn. This plan succeeded in

all its parts. The first found no difficulty in effecting the occupation of the capital of Tuscany; while the second reached Leghorn by the way of Lucca, and seized about fifty English vessels in the port and an immense supply of grain.—Clement, however, found it not so easy to accomplish the task assigned to him on the side of Arezzo; for the inhabitants would listen to no compromise, but resolved on an obstinate resistance. The French battered the town with cannon, and kept up a severe fire on the city and castle with grenades, but those within defended themselves manfully. St. Cyr, the bold occupier and defender of Castel Ceriolo, laboured in vain. The inhabitants of Arezzo kept the assailants at a distance, with case shot, with grenades, and stones. The republican leader commanded a general assault: he had already, by means of rockets, set fire to some of the gates; but as they were strongly fortified within by raddles formed of thick branches, and covered with kneaded clay, the French were obliged to abandon the attempt, yet not until after they had suffered severely. On the following day, the

19th of October, having better arranged the plan of attack, some of the republicans applied their scaling ladders to the walls at a very early hour, and climbing up, possessed themselves of the gates, and opened them to their companions. Then the whole weight of the republican mass forcing into the city, obtained possession of it, but not without fresh struggles and renewed carnage; for, from the windows, from the roofs, from the loop-holes that had been made in the walls of all the houses for this purpose, the inhabitants, aided by some companies of regular troops, poured on the heads of the assailants every species of offensive missile. But at last disciplined courage prevailed over undisciplined rage, and Arezzo fell into the hands of her enemies. Then ensued the slaughter, pillage, and violence that might be expected from soldiers infuriated by recent sufferings, which revived also the memory of former injuries. A few escaped, and retired to the castle; shortly after they demanded a conditional surrender and obtained it. The turn occasioned by the fate of Arezzo caused the dissolution of the greater part

of the Tuscan insurgent bands. An apparent calm succeeded; but, under its shelter, fiercer discontents were brooding, ready to spring into action at the first opportunity; for the most pacific state in Italy persevered longer than any other in an obstinate desire of war. Sommariva with the Germans retired to Ferrara.

Every thing tended towards a new war between France and Austria. The Emperor had refused to ratify the preliminaries of peace, stipulated at Paris on the 8th of July between the Count St. Julian, his envoy, and Talleyrand, the French minister; and by which the Consul had to compensate his losses by new acquisitions in Italy. The Emperor not only refused to ratify the treaty, but expressed much displeasure at St. Julian, as having gone beyond his instructions. At this period, too, he was strongly urged by England to continue the contest, because she had refused to make peace herself, and dreaded being left single-handed against France: neither could she be reconciled to the idea of the Netherlands being left in possession of her rival; she offered, therefore, the aid of subsidies

and troops on the side of Naples. On the other hand, the Emperor could not resolve on giving up Mantua, deeming his new acquisitions in Italy insecure, as long as this fortress should remain in possession of a state entirely dependent on France; and, although he was deprived of the powerful co-operation of the Emperor Paul, he trusted that the strength of his own resources were sufficient to wage successful war alone; remembering, also, the recent victories of Verona and Magnano, and reflecting that if the day had been finally lost at Marengo by a single moment, after victory had been his for seven hours, it was not by any want of courage on the part of his army. The hostile armies were at this time posted in the following order:—the Germanic army of France, commanded by Moreau, fronted the Germanic army of Austria, under Kray;—the Italian army of France, under Brune, opposed the Austro-Italic host, commanded by Bellegarde. Between the two, for the purpose of forming a communication, a French division was posted, under Macdonald; and in the Tyrol, an Austrian one, with Hiller at its head. Thus,

Moreau and Kray, ancient rivals, Macdonald and Hiller, Brune and Bellegarde, were opposed to each other.

The rising in Tuscany, which had obliged Brune to dismember a part of his force, and to send it on beyond his right wing, had weakened the remainder. Desirous, therefore, of strengthening him, the Consul commanded Macdonald to leave strong garrisons in the Grisons, and to descend first from the Grisons to the Valtelline, and then, from the Valtelline, on the banks of the Oglio and the Adige; the first, in order to reinforce Brune in his assigned station, and the latter to take Bellegarde in the rear, and oblige him to retire from the Mincio, where he had his present quarters. This order of the Consul entailed extreme hardship, and was of difficult execution; for to attempt to cross at this advanced season, now near the end of October, the mountain of the Splugen, which must be done to reach the Valtelline, or to effect, what was no less difficult, a passage over the Priga, which must be accomplished to reach the vale of Camonca, watered by the Oglio; and lastly, to surmount the Tonale,

which gives access to the Upper Adige, was a supernatural rather than a human undertaking. Nor was the recent example of the passage of the St. Bernard a case in point, for the season was more inclement, and the mountains more precipitous. Posterity, perhaps, will find in this design of Buonaparte more audacity than wisdom, and greater confidence in his troops than knowledge of the locality. Notwithstanding however all this, Macdonald did not lose courage, the achievement of St. Bernard exciting his emulation. The van-guard, under Baraguay d'Hilliers, being that which was the first ready to set out, and the nearest to the mountains, crossed in two divisions, one by the Splugen, the other by the Monte dell' Ora, and arrived, not without having overcome great difficulties, on the right at Chiavenna, and on the left at Sondrio. By this means, Baraguay gained the command of the Valtelline, and facilitated the descent of Macdonald. The Valtellines were as much amazed at the sight of these troops as if they had dropped from Heaven, so impossible did it appear to them that they should have made their way over those

heights, especially at such a season; but the task which remained to Macdonald was still more difficult. When they reached Tusizio, where begins the ascent to the mountain eternally capped with snow, it seemed that the obstacles presented by nature had become insuperable, so deep was the snow, so choked up was the road, so slippery though yet untrodden, so narrow, rough, and precipitous. The artillery, however, was placed on traineaux, and the provisions on mules, as at St. Bernard. They marched on, but with extreme difficulty. The van-guard, under Laboissiere, reached the village of Splugen, whence there yet remained the ascent of the steep eminence which leads to the highest ridge. They set out, and proceeding with painful steps and breathless toil, had already approached the wished-for summit, when a furious east wind suddenly arose, and raising an immense cloud of fine powdery snow, drove it in the eyes of the soldiers, so as to render all farther progress impossible.* The force of this vehement whirlwind

* The peculiar sharpness of this snow blisters and cuts the skin, so as to draw blood.—*Tr.*

blowing furiously on the heaps of snow on the slippery summits, caused a horrible rush of these avalanches, which, falling with indescribable velocity and a fearful crash, like masses of lead, into the valley beneath, carried down every thing that lay in their course. Thirty soldiers, thus precipitated, perished in the abyss; the rest were terror-stricken, and their path blocked up. The approach of night rendered their situation still more horrible, and they retraced their steps to Splugen. Laboissiere, who separated from his people, had gone on with the guides with difficulty, in almost a lifeless state reached the summit; but here he found a hospitable asylum with the cœnobites, who, like the monks of St. Bernard, devote their heroic piety to the preservation of forlorn travellers.

The undertaking seemed desperate, and so it would have proved but for the arrival of Macdonald, who, spurred on by the desire of emulating the Consul, and perceiving also that certain destruction would arise from famine if they halted here, worked so much on the minds of the soldiers by his earnest entreaties and exhortations, that the

wearied and terrified troops returned to the attempt. Four strong oxen were sent on to track the snow, forty men followed to clear a path with shovels, after whom came the sappers to make it solid, while two companies of infantry on the right and left laboured to complete their work; they were closely followed by the troops, both infantry and cavalry, the artillery and the beasts of burden closing up the rear. This was the van-guard. When they reached the hospital on the summit, their joy was extreme to find Laboissiere in safety; then, following the road by the plain of Cardinello, they reached Campo Dolcino. In the same manner, on the second and third of December, the passage was effected by two other squadrons of infantry, cavalry, and artillery. The weather being calm and cold, the snow was hardened into ice, which facilitated the passage. A few soldiers, only, died of the extreme cold, and some were mutilated by the effect of the frost on their extremities. The hardships of the march were cruel, but there was hope of accomplishing it happily; when, on the fourth, as the van-guard, in which was Macdonald, commenced

their ascent, a tremendous storm arose, which arrested the progress of some, buried others under the drifted snow, and entirely effaced every trace of the path that had been made. Despair now seized every mind; the terrified guides, who were natives of the country, declared it to be impossible to proceed, and refused to go on. Macdonald was about to perish under hills of snow, as Cambyses had done under hills of sand; but his own resolution, and the exertions of his companions, prevailed over all: their feats were rather the labours of giants than of men. He encouraged the guides; he animated the soldiers; he ran to and fro, exclaiming—"Frenchmen! the army of reserve has overcome St. Bernard; do you conquer the Splugen; let your glory vanquish that which nature has wished to make insuperable. Destiny calls you to Italy. Go, and subdue the mountains and the snows, then conquer men and arms." The long line of the disconsolate squadron renewed their march: the storm raged yet more fiercely; frequently the guides, distracted by terror, turned back; frequently the men were overwhelmed with snow,

and not less often were they dispersed. Sometimes the narrow gorge of the profound valley was transformed into a mountain of snow; a white and solid wall arose where had been the opening; every path was closed. The cold also was intense, and became the greater the higher they ascended, dispiriting and subduing the mind, whilst it benumbed the limbs and rendered them useless. The snowy barrier rising before them with momentary speed, was often renewed to oppose their passage; inexorable winter wandered at large, and ruled the scene; and the Rhætian Alps seemed about to swallow up the audacious invaders. In a situation thus forlorn, an illustrious example is given of the prodigious efforts to which human nature is equal; for Macdonald and his troops, not yielding to this mortal peril, opened the lately closed paths, levelled the mounds, broke the ice, made the yielding snow solid, roughened that which was slippery, and covered and filled up that which was hollow; and thus, by all these expedients, though stern winter called them to destruction and death, they overcame its chill horrors, and, struggling success-

fully with all that is direst in the raging fury of the elements, they reached in safety the vale of the Valtelline. Here they congratulated each other on their rescued lives, for each had deemed death to be inevitable; and Macdonald exulted at the success of his invincible resolution. Achievements such as these appear impossible, and more so to those who have accomplished them, than even to others; neither would posterity credit them, if our own age (so fruitful in narrative) could not bring a hundred witnesses to verify them; for neither ancient nor modern history records any exploit more wonderful than this, or so truly Herculean. This may serve to show the energy of the enemy the Austrians had to cope with, for certainly they never would have exposed themselves to such fearful risks. Courage was equal on both sides, but greater daring was on the part of the French. Some may call it temerity; but fortune is the friend of the bold, and the world is for him who will seize it.

Although the first part of the enterprise had been accomplished, the two others were yet to be effected, and they were also attended with consi-

derable difficulty. These were the passage from the Valtelline to the vale of Camonica, that is, from the banks of the Adda to those of the Oglio; and then to the Trentino, that is, from the Adda to the Adige; the first by Monte Priga, the second by Monte Tonale. This last did not succeed; for the Germans were strongly intrenched there; and, though Macdonald twice attacked them vigorously, he was ultimately repulsed by the valour of the enemy, seconded by the strength of their position, and the rigour of the season. The passage of the Priga, on the other hand, was happily accomplished. When the republicans had traversed this rugged mountain (although not without serious difficulties and perils), they reached the Oglio, and, passing Breno, assembled at Pisogna, a district on the southern point of the lake of Iseo, which the Oglio forms and nourishes with its waters. Here they found the Italian legion of Lecchi, and fresh provisions which Brune had providently furnished for the refreshment of these exhausted and heroic men.

Towards the end of November, the truce expired, and hostilities were declared on both sides.

Yet the Italian army did not come immediately to action, because Brune sought to delay offensive operations till the junction of Macdonald, who was then occupied in passing the mountains. Besides, he was fearful for the safety of his right wing; since, after the conquest of Tuscany, Dupont had returned with the greater part of his division to the principal camp, leaving in that state only three or four thousand men under Miollis. The King of Naples also, stimulated by England and wishing to co-operate with Austria, had sent an army into the field under the command of Count Roger de Damas, who, having crossed the pontifical states, already approached the frontiers of Tuscany. For these reasons, therefore, the French general remained inactive whilst awaiting the arrival of Macdonald and of the new levies who had already reached Piedmont. Bellegarde was on his side not less anxious of delay, awaiting the descent of Laudon and Vukassovich from the Tyrol. His position was, moreover, so strong, both by nature and art, that he preferred being attacked to becoming the assailant. Towards the close of the year, Macdo-

nald reached the allotted position, from whence he was able to co-operate with Brune; and the Generalissimo, therefore, desirous of seconding the movements of Moreau in Germany, who had successfully penetrated to the heart of Austria, commenced active hostilities. An impetuous attack on the squadrons posted by Bellegarde on the right bank of the Mincio forced them to retire to the opposite side. The passage of the river was now to be effected by the French,—a difficult operation; for the Austrians, strong in number and position, were determined on an obstinate resistance. The French were divided into three bands: the upper, that is, the one on the left division under Moncey, looked towards Peschiera; the central, under Suchet, was opposite Borghetto; and the right, under Dupont, posted on the Volta, extended as far as Goito. Brune hoped to cross by the pass of Mozambano, where the banks, being less marshy, were easier to ascend, and afforded a firmer footing where it was necessary to occupy them. To accomplish this design with greater ease, he wished to deceive the enemy by a feint of passing lower down

between Volta and Pozzuolo; and, with this intent, he commanded Dupont to make such strong demonstrations of crossing in this place, that Bellegarde should be persuaded that this was really the passage the French designed to effect, not doubting that the German general would send so great a proportion of his troops in that direction as would leave his right wing uncovered, and thus facilitate his design on Mozambano. Brune, however, commanded Dupont to content himself with merely making a show of occupying the left bank, and to make no stand there, but avoid a decided engagement. The 25th of December, the day appointed by the French general for the passage of the Mincio, arrived, and Dupont in the first instance commenced the operations necessary to effect the duty imposed on him. The light troops crossed first, in boats which they there met with by chance, and then, the pontoons being placed, the main body followed, consisting of the two squadrons of Watrin and Monnier. After a short contest, he became master of Pozzuolo, where, without regarding the general plan, he took up his station,—at once a

fortunate and an unfortunate idea; for, if it was important to occupy Pozzuolo, it might, on the other hand, under the existing circumstances, have entailed the total defeat of the French army; and this effect it had well nigh produced. It had been more consonant to the instructions of the French commander, and better for the general security of the army, if Dupont, having secured the means, had delayed the actual passage, till Brune had also crossed at Mozambano. His precipitation was the cause of serious risk; for Brune had been so much impeded by the badness of the roads, that he was unable to concur in the operations on the 25th. Bellegarde, therefore, who was stationed at Villa Franca, a short distance from Pozzuolo, quickly fell on Dupont with the entire weight of his forces. The French general defended himself valiantly, although Bellegarde appeared with almost the whole of his army in battle array against him, and his soldiers did every thing that brave men could do in a situation of such extreme peril. But, such was the preponderance of the Austrian attacking with his whole force a small division of the enemy,

that Dupont, unable to resist with his own corps alone, began to yield, and found himself on the point of being driven back across the river, thus paying the penalty of having ventured to disobey the orders of the commander-in-chief, by coming to a pitched battle on the opposite bank. The right wing of the French would, consequently, have been entirely defeated and routed, had not an unexpected succour suddenly arrived in the critical moment. Suchet, who, from the heights of the Volta, saw, how closely Dupont was pressed by the enemy, considering rather the circumstances of the case than the orders of Brune, who had commanded his services at the pass of Mozambano, descended in extreme haste to the ill-omened Pozzuolo.

The arrival of Suchet restored the fortune of the day, which till that moment had been lost. Still the Austrians, strong in number and secure on their right flank, gave fierce and obstinate battle. Thrice did they gain possession of Pozzuolo, and thrice were they driven out; but, in the end, Bellegarde was obliged to retire behind Villa Franca, leaving the republicans masters of

Pozzuolo. He suffered much in this action, leaving five thousand killed and wounded; and three thousand prisoners remained to prove how little the termination of a battle can be judged of from its commencement. Three standards and eleven cannon adorned the triumph of the conquerors: the victory, however, was not gained without some loss on the part of the French; for their killed and wounded amounted to two thousand, although only a few prisoners remained in the hands of Bellegarde. The following day, as had been originally arranged, Brune crossed the river at Mozambano, and thus the whole French army passed to the left bank of the Mincio.

Bellegarde, taking into consideration the result of the affair of Pozzuolo, and not wishing to hazard an engagement in the open plains between the Mincio and the Adige, although his force greatly exceeded that of the enemy in cavalry, resolved to yield to circumstances, and retired to the left of the Adige, leaving only a few battalions on the right, not to occupy the country, but to impede the passage of the river. Emboldened by victory, Brune now purposed to

drive back the enemy beyond Verona, and to make the force of the French arms be felt in the Vicentine, Paduan, and Trivigian districts. To this intent, he arranged his movements for crossing the river above rather than below Verona, in order to secure the co-operation of Macdonald, and to prevent the junction of Laudon and Vukassovich, who were already descending from the Tyrol: for which reasons, drawing towards the Adige with the main body, he sent Moncey towards Corona and Rivoli, to close the road against Laudon and Vukassovich, with orders to follow in their rear, in case they should deem it expedient to retrace their steps.

He knew that Macdonald, passing by the upper range of mountains, and, entering from the valley of the Oglio into that of the Mela, and from thence to that of the Chiesa, and following the upper side of the Lago di Garda, proposed to come out by steep and rugged hills above Trent. If this movement had succeeded, Laudon and Vukassovich, attacked above by Macdonald, and below by Moncey, would have had no means of escape. This plan succeeded, as far as regarded

the crossing of the river, which was easily effected at Bussoleugo, so famous for successive passages, now of the French, now of the Austrians. Being informed of the march of Macdonald, Bellegarde made only a feeble show of opposition to the republicans, and retired on the banks of the Brenta, leaving a garrison only in the castle of San Felice, in the Veronese, which shortly after surrendered. At the same time, aware of the danger of Laudon and Vukassovich, he commanded them to ascend the Adige as quickly as possible, and to join him in the vicinity of Bassano by forced marches through the vale of the Brenta. At this moment the intelligence arrived that, after the victory of Hohenlinden, gained by Moreau over the Archduke John, a truce had been concluded at Steyer, on the 25th of December, between the French general and the Archduke Charles. Bellegarde proposed to Brune a similar suspension of hostilities; as he exacted, however, in conformity with his instructions, the cession not only of Peschiera, Ferrara, Ancona, and the port of

Legnano; but also of Mantua, the French general refused to accede to such conditions, and the contest was continued.

In the Tyrol, the state of affairs became pressing; Moncey and Macdonald endeavouring to shut up and surround Vukassovich and Laudon. Vukassovich, however, who was stationed higher up than Laudon, quickly obeying the summons of Bellegarde, entered the vale of the Brenta by Pergine, escaped the danger, and marched in safety by the bank of this river in front of his general; Laudon, on the contrary, found himself in a situation of extreme difficulty, as he had already advanced so far that it was not possible for him to return from Roveredo, towards Trent, before the arrival of Macdonald; besides, being fiercely attacked by Moncey on the lower side, so as to be driven higher up, he was obliged to abandon even Roveredo to the victor. At this moment also Macdonald, having overcome the resistance that Davidovich had made at Trent, with a small body of the rear guard of Vukassovich, had possessed himself of this capital of

the Italian Tyrol. Laudon, therefore, was cut off from the main road, and the only hope of escape which remained was by the narrow, steep, and bad roads from Caldonazzo to Levico. It would have been impossible to have passed by such rugged paths, more especially with the cavalry, baggage, and artillery, if the French had rapidly pursued them. But Laudon sent to inform Moncey that a truce had been concluded (a mere fabrication of his own) between Brune and Bellegarde, and required his observance of it. The French general gave him credence, and abstained from opposing him; on which, profiting by the opportunity, Laudon accelerated his march to the utmost, and reached Levico in safety, from whence making a successful descent, he effected the desired junction with Bellegarde. Moncey marching above Roveredo, and Macdonald below Trent, the two generals met between these towns, both grieving that a fraud had deprived them of a signal occasion of increasing their own glory, and of rendering an essential service to their country. The disappointment was doubly bitter to Macdonald, as now all the hardships and dangers he

had gone through had been to no purpose.* The accomplishment, however, of another part of his plan remained—great and daring enterprises being his highest pleasure: this was to ascend the Adige to Bolzano and Brescia, then to enter the vale of the Drave, and thus come out on the rear of Bellegarde, and cut off his retreat into Austria. In fact, he did proceed as far as Bolzano, and there briskly attacked general Auffenberg, who occupied the town with four thousand men; but peace, not hostile arms, impeded Macdonald in the execution of his bold design.

Vukassovich and Laudon having joined Bellegarde, he might for a time have held the balance of fortune; but he did not desire to incur a dangerous hazard, the news of the armistice of Steyer having deprived him of hope. He therefore retired from the Brenta to the banks of the Piave, and Brune followed him; here the war

* And for this reason, Macdonald's passage of the Splugen is little spoken of, though, in itself, so much more astonishing than that effected by Buonaparte over the Great St. Bernard; but the latter, having changed the lot of Europe, is familiar to every one. The most heroic actions are known to fame rather by their consequences, than by their own intrinsic merit.—*Tr.*

terminated. At the request of the Austrian general, a truce was concluded on the 16th of January, at Treviso, with the following conditions; and neither party were to commence offensive operations within fifteen days after it was declared at an end. The fortresses of Peschiera and Sermione, the castles of Verona and Legnago, the citadel of Ferrara, the city and the fort of Ancona were to be ceded to the French; Mantua was still to be blockaded by the republicans, at the distance of eight hundred yards from the ground-work, and the garrison were to be allowed to introduce provisions, on every tenth day, sufficient for the consumption of the intervening space of time; the Austrian magistrates were to be respected; the truce was to last for thirty-three days, including the fifteen; and finally, no one was to be molested for political opinions. The Consul was far from being satisfied with the convention of Treviso, because it did not suit his purposes that the Austrians should retain Mantua; he therefore sent a menace to the Austrian court, (finding himself in a victorious position), declaring, that if Mantua were not given up to him, he

would break the convention, and neither ratify the armistice of Steyer nor that of Treviso, but recommence hostilities. The Emperor was forced to comply; and, by a new agreement made at Luneville, this most important fortress was given up into the hands of the French.

The armistice of Treviso had reduced the King of Naples to great straits, because it set the French at liberty to attempt the recovery of the territory they had lost. Count Roger de Damas, wishing to co-operate with Bellegarde, had advanced with the Neapolitans, and, crossing the Roman states, had entered Tuscany, taking up his quarters at Sienna. On the other side Sommariva, with some squadrons of Germans and the Aretine exiles, had also advanced, and had caused a rising in the upper part of the Grand Duchy. Encouraged by these movements, the Aretines, who ill-brooked the dominion of the French, rose anew, and placed Miollis in a critical situation, the paucity of his numbers being insufficient for the occupation of Tuscany. Tumult and division thus marking the frontiers, Sommariva on the one side, and Count Roger on the other, marched

on Florence, where the French general had his head quarters. These occurrences took place in the beginning of the year. Despairing of making head against both his enemies at once, for his troops were few in number, and even that small body a mixture of French, Cisalpines, and Piedmontese, Miollis prudently resolved to use such celerity as should enable him to attack them separately. He first marched against the Neapolitans, under the Count; general Pino led the vanguard of the Cisalpine infantry and Piedmontese cavalry; and, between Poggibonza and Sienna they fell upon a column of five or six thousand Neapolitan infantry, and, charging them furiously with the bayonet, put them to flight. The Count wished to make head at Sienna, but Pino, incited by his own courage and that of his troops, and animated by the fervour of victory, followed him up instantly, and, shattering the gates with cannon, entered the place triumphantly. The Count withdrew from the town, and tried to assemble his forces on the neighbouring hills; but being still more closely pressed by the Cisalpines and Piedmontese, he was obliged entirely to

abandon the Tuscan territory; and, favoured by the obscurity of the night, retreated into the Roman states. When informed of his disasters, Sommariva hastily retreated also, and sought shelter at Ancona. In this manner Miollis, by the valour of his troops and his own prudence, restored the supremacy of France in Tuscany, and kept in check the left wing of Bellegarde. Such was the state of Tuscany at the period of the truce of Treviso, in which the King of Naples not being comprehended, his dominions were exposed to serious danger; for Murat, who was sent by the Count with the new levies to Italy, was marching quietly through Tuscany and Romagna, to invade the kingdom. Murat's troops were also joined by one of the victorious squadrons of Brune, and every thing gave way to the force of their recent successes. It was impossible for Ferdinand to make any effectual resistance; his ruin seemed certain; but rescue, when apparently utterly hopeless, arrived to him from the North. Caroline of Naples, although in disposition too revengeful, and although she allowed herself to be carried too far by transports

of anger, yet possessed a strong mind; and, giving little faith to the insane expectations, and the boasts of their too confident enemies, she placed her whole trust in Russia, and having no hope of any other mode of peace with France, resolved to go in person to St. Petersburg, to beseech the mediation of Paul between the Consul and Ferdinand. Paul was gratified by the confidence she placed in him; and, already reconciled to the Consul, sent General Levashev to Italy, to mediate a peace between the two powers.

Buonaparte was well-pleased with this proceeding, because, in the first place, the contending powers, and especially the Italians, saw that one of the most powerful princes in the world not only acknowledged his government, but, moreover, was on terms of friendship with him; and, in the second place, he saw the kingdom of Naples withdrawn from the influence of England, and placed anew under his own. Levashev met every where in Italy the most honourable reception, as if the whole greatness of Paul shone forth in his person. The people wondered that Russia, which had been so much the enemy of France, should now

have become her friend; and, comparing the times of Suwarrow and Levashev, they admired the power and the fortune of the Consul. The Chevalier Micheroux met Murat, on the part of the King, at Foligno;—they occupied but a short time in their negociation, both parties eagerly desiring to come to an accord—the one to please the Emperor Paul, the other from fear of Buonaparte. On the 18th of February, therefore, a truce was concluded between France and Naples, under the guarantee of Russia; the principal articles of which were, that the Neapolitans should retire from the Roman territories;—that the republicans should occupy Terni, but should not pass beyond the Nera;—that the ports of both Sicilies should be shut against the English and the Turks;—that all communication should cease between Porto Ferrajo and Porto Longone, in the island of Elba, until the English should evacuate Porto Ferrajo;—that Dolomieu should be liberated from the dungeons of Messina;—that the French officers and generals should be given up; and that the King should be obliged to attend to the recommendations of France in favour of those

who were imprisoned or banished for political opinions.

This treaty was quickly executed. Count Roger evacuated the states of the Church; and, in compliance with the instances of the Consul, abolished all extraordinary tribunals, and remitted all penalties for treasonable offences. Excited by the pride of entering Rome as a deliverer, and desirous of facilitating future designs, Murat made his entry into that city, the populace crowding to meet him, and there paid his reverence to the Pontiff.

Every thing tended towards peace. Terror was more powerful at Vienna than the exhortations of England. Negociations were carried on at Luneville, on the part of Austria, by Count Louis Cobentzel; and, on that of France, by Joseph Buonaparte; each being furnished with full powers to conclude them. After some discussion, a definitive treaty was signed, on the 9th of February; the principal articles of which, as regarded Italy, were the same as those of the Treaty of Campo Formio, differing only as to the respective confines. The Adige, from its source

in the Tyrol to its mouth, formed the boundary line between the Cisalpine Republic and the Austrian states. The right division of the Veronia, and also of that of Porto Legnago was to belong to the Cisalpine Republic, the left to Austria. The Emperor pledged himself to give Brisgovia to the Duke of Modena, in compensation for the loss of his duchy. The Grand Duke gave up his pretensions to Tuscany and the Island of Elba, which were both made over to the Infant Duke of Parma; and the former Duke was to be compensated with equivalent states in Germany. The Emperor acknowledged and recognised the Ligurian and Cisalpine Republics, and resigned all title to sovereignty and right over the Cisalpine territory. He consented also to the union of some of the Imperial fiefs with the Ligurian republic. With regard to Piedmont, nothing was stipulated, as Buonaparte wished to reserve either the opportunity of keeping it to himself, or the means of gratifying the Emperor Paul.

The King of Naples also, now reduced to the necessity of yielding to the distant influence of

Paul, and the immediate power of Buonaparte, made peace with the Consul, acceding, in a treaty signed at Florence, on the 29th of March, by Micheroux on his part, and by Alquier on that of France, to all the terms of the truce, to which also some further concessions were added; his Majesty, renouncing entirely, in the first place, Porto Longone and all he possessed in the Isle of Elba; and, secondly, yielding to France, as her uncontested property, the garrisoned states, and the principality of Piombino. He granted also an amnesty of all political offences committed previously to that date; restored confiscated property; liberated those in confinement, and permitted the return of the exiled, who further obtained the restitution of all their rights and property. Oblivion of all offences was proclaimed on both sides.

A new compact was also entered into with Spain, by a treaty signed at Madrid, on the 21st of March, by Lucien Buonaparte and the Prince of Peace, when the two contracting parties agreed that the Duke of Parma should resign his duchy in favour of the French republic, and that Tuscany should be given to his son, with the title of

King; the Duke to be compensated by other states and certain stipends; that the port of the Isle of Elba, which appertained to Tuscany, should be ceded to France, and that France should compensate the King of Etruria with the State of Piombino; that Tuscany should be for ever united to the crown of Spain; that, if the King of Etruria should die without offspring, the sons of the Spanish Monarch should succeed him.

Thus, in less than a year, every obstacle yielding to the fortunes of Buonaparte, he conquered Italy and Austria; then, as there prevailed in all, from similar or from opposite motives, the same desire of peace, he composed all differences, contracted a friendship with the Emperor Paul, promised a reconciliation with the Emperor Francis, and once more raised France anew from the ebb of her fortunes, to a condition of eminent prosperity.

CHAPTER III.

The Consul comes to an agreement with the See of Rome, and restores the Catholic religion in France.—The Concordat.—Discussions in the Papal council on this subject.—Organic articles added by the Consul.—Complaints of the Pope respecting them.—French ordinances in Piedmont, which pave the way for its definitive union with France.—Menou replaces Jourdan in the government.—Murat in Tuscany.—His mandate against the Neapolitan exiles.—Tuscany given to the young Prince of Parma, with the title of King of Etruria.—The Consul endeavours to secure more ample authority, and a more illustrious title.—Makes his first experiments in Italy, and calls the Italian deputies to Lyons.—He is there declared president of the Italian republic for ten years, with the capability of being re-elected.—Constitution of the Italian republic.—Change in Genoa.—Her new constitution.—Monument erected at Sarzana in honour of the Buonaparte family, originally of that city.—Piedmont formally united to France.—Charles Louis Infant of Spain becomes King of Etruria by the death of the Prince of Parma.—Yellow fever at Leghorn.—The ten

years' arts of Buonaparte attain their completion.—Procures for himself the title of Emperor.—Pius the Seventh goes expressly to Paris to perform the ceremony of his coronation.

THE affairs of the church in France were in the utmost disorder. The Constituent Assembly had first interrupted the union with the Apostolic See, by denying the right of the Pope to nominate to bishoprics, as had been granted by the concordat between Leo the Tenth and Francis the First; and also by appropriating the property of the church to the nation. The succeeding governments, and more especially the National Assembly, not only annulled all the ordinances of the Constituent Assembly, but forbade the practice of every religious rite, persecuted the clergy, and —which was most infamous, even forced some to abjure their calling and their faith. The Directory continued to persecute the priests, now banishing, now imprisoning them, and uniformly interdicting them, more especially the non-jurors, from freely or publicly celebrating the rites of divine worship. Amidst all these sorrows of the pious, they derived some consolation from the

exhortations and advice of the constitutional priests. To them France remained indebted for the preservation of the faith. The Apostolical See also ought to acknowledge this obligation, although it may have cause to complain of the diminution of the authority of the chair of St. Peter introduced by them, and pertinaciously sustained by their discourses, their actions, and their writings. They preserved the faith, the root, without which, not only all ecclesiastical discipline, but all religion, must perish. Yet religion, without legal rites and public worship, protected and acknowledged by authority, cannot long subsist, and, less than any other, the Catholic religion, which captivates the mind by external pomp and solemnities. This was seen by prudent men, who had also become convinced that religious belief was an efficacious support to civil laws: of these things also were religious men persuaded, and they lamented that they dared not openly manifest those opinions which their reason and their hearts equally cherished. An universal desire had, therefore, arisen in France for the restoration of the rites of Catholicism, and the

very difficulties which seemed to attend it, caused it to be by many the more ardently desired. It appeared certain, too, that the people would eagerly have flocked round the first ensign of Christianity, and have embraced with affection whosoever should have raised it. Buonaparte was not a man to be blind to these things, and still less was he likely to neglect turning them to his own exaltation, and using them as means to accomplish his greater and ulterior ends. For these reasons he had used, on his arrival in France after his return from Egypt, expressions of conciliation—of religious feeling—of respect and friendship towards the Pope; all which he repeated on setting out for the second conquest of Italy, and made still the same protestations, when he returned victorious from the field of Marengo, to resume his consular seat at Paris. Freed from the more immediate and pressing cares of the war, he now applied himself much more closely to the negociation with the Pope, in order to come to an adjustment on spiritual matters. He offered to restore the Catholic worship, and to bestow both rank and pecuniary provision on

its ministers. He added his customary flatteries, speaking in well-turned phrases of the benevolence and sanctity of Chiaramonti, Bishop of Imola; nor did he neglect the usual demonstrations of his regard for religion, and his attachment to the French nation. Some circumstances occurred to assist these machinations, and others also which impeded them. In favour of the Consul was the national council of the bishops who had taken the oaths, which, modelled on one that had been held in the year ninety-seven, was by his express consent to assemble at Paris on St. Peter's day. He not only did not prevent these bishops from speaking freely, but excited them so to do, although they had taken the oaths, and were opposed to that plenitude of authority, which the Popes assume to belong to the Apostolical See. Availing themselves largely of this privilege, they sent circulars to the bishops and priests, their companions in the Gallican church, exhorting them to imitate, as they said, that charity of which Jesus Christ had left the precept and example, by joining the council of Paris on the appointed day, in order to complete the work

begun in ninety-seven, and to give an example and an excitement for the renewal of those national and holy assemblies in every other nation of Christendom—assemblies, which had been so strongly recommended by the venerable ancient Christian church. They expressed also the hope that this meeting might give rise to a general council, which had not been held for several centuries, although the Council of Constance had prescribed such a convocation once in ten years, as a pious and a necessary re-union. They sent at the same time to beseech the Pope (with whom the Consul already negociated as to the establishment of doctrines contrary to those they maintained), to send some of his deputies to certify themselves of their zeal and of the purity of their faith. They complained of having been condemned unheard by Pius the Sixth, and affirmed, that by their labours alone the course of episcopal jurisdiction had continued uninterrupted. "Perhaps," said they, "it is imputed to us as a crime that we have supplied the comfort and support of religion to so many dioceses and parishes, which had been abandoned by their pastors." They alleged, also,

that the faculty of theology and canon law of Friburg, in Brisgovia, had pronounced sentence in their favour, although unsought; they implored the opinion of all the Catholic universities of Europe, offering to explain, by words or writing, whatever might be required to elucidate the points in controversy; and concluded by declaring themselves obedient sons of the undivided, holy, catholic, apostolic, and Roman church, earnestly expressing their desire to live and die in her bosom.

The most important part of this controversy related to the election of bishops: first, whether, as to the temporal power, the election was as valid when made by the people, as by kings or other national rulers; and, as to the spiritual, whether, in order to prevent the interruption of the episcopal functions, the confirmation by another bishop would suffice, or if that of the Roman Pontiff was necessary. The next point in debate was, whether ecclesiastics should live solely by the oblations of the faithful, or whether they should possess actual property, and whether it was an heretical doctrine to maintain that the

temporal power for the general good of the state might, without the consent of the Roman Pontiff, dispose of the goods of the church. The opinions of the constitutional bishops assembled in Paris as to these questions were no secret, for every one knew that they decided against the doctrines of the See of Rome. Nor were these opinions confined to France, but were embraced by many of the most learned and pious amongst the Italians. Not to mention Ricci, Bishop of Pistoja, who advocated them more warmly than any other, they were entertained by the professors Degola, Zola, Tamburini, Palmieri, Gautier, a Philippine priest of Turin, Vailua, canon of Asti, with many others, both Tuscans and Neapolitans, who had imbibed the same doctrine from Ricci and the brothers Cestari. Gautier did not hesitate to assert that the election of bishops was of divine right, or, at least, of apostolical institution; that this mode of election had been ordained by the apostles themselves, and served as an example of the discipline universally practised by the church in the succeeding ages in a matter of so much importance. The

Philippine alleged, in confirmation of his doctrine, that the election of St. Matthias had been made not by St. Peter only, but by all the disciples assembled, to the number of a hundred and twenty; and, finally, he proceeded to say that, if in fact the Roman Pontiff had for many centuries appointed the bishops, it was by a mere usurpation of authority, from which he concluded that the Pope was bound to acknowledge, as true and legitimate bishops, those who had been created in conformity to the ordinances of the Constituent Assembly of France. Gautier exhorted the bishops to repair to the council of Paris, and to suffer no excuse or pretext to the contrary to be admitted in this great cause, as, according to him, every unprejudiced and well-judging man must pronounce sentence in favour of the clergy, who had been appointed in conformity to the ecclesiastical constitution of France, and must see that reason and justice were entirely on their side, according to sound canonical principles; that they were the true and legitimate pastors, being those who had been elected by the Christian people, and approved and installed in

their churches by their respective metropolitans, according to those primitive canons which had been confirmed by the veneration of the universe, and against which no custom ought to prevail. Benedetto Solaro, Bishop of Noli, gave the sanction of his authority and writings to these opinions, and showed a great desire to join the council at Paris.

On the other side, the Court of Rome vehemently opposed these doctrines. Pius the Sixth, in his briefs of the 10th of March and 13th of April, 1791, had solemnly condemned them, and had affirmed that the power of conferring ecclesiastical dignities according to the discipline established for several centuries, by custom, by various councils, and still more by express concordats, did not in the least appertain to the metropolitans, but that this power returned to the the source whence it was derived, appertaining only to the Apostolical See. That at present it was the office of the Pope to provide every church with bishops, as declared by the Council of Trent, from which it followed, that no legitimate appointment of bishops can take place,

except that which is received from the Apostolic Chair. Thus the universal church duly assembled in council had ordained; thus had been settled by the concordat concluded between Leo the Tenth and Francis the First, by which it was seen that, although it was only from the fifteenth century the successors of St. Peter had installed the bishops, their rights were nevertheless incontrovertible, because, as vicars of Christ, they had received full power from God to govern the church on earth; and, if the bishops are appointed to govern particular churches, it is only from having received authority from the universal pastor.

These doctrines of the Roman Consistory, as they called them, were not to be tolerated, nor listened to with patience by the opposite party; who unceasingly combated them with discourses and writings, citations of texts, and logical arguments; nor, in doing so, did they always keep within the bounds of moderation; for, although they expressed themselves in terms of feigned humility towards the Pontiff, they mingled with them bitter observations, and opinions

of still greater acerbity, whenever they spoke of the Papal power; and the discussions, being between theologians, were becoming daily more harsh. In fine, under the civil constitution, the clergy appointed by the Constituent Assembly thought they had gained a point of great importance, and strove with every nerve to confirm their victory.

These theological controversies were highly grateful to the Consul, as a means of forwarding his own plans; for he did not doubt that the Pope would manifest a greater docility to his wishes, in order to prevent his espousing the part of those who impugned the authority of the Holy See; and, therefore, he not only favoured but excited these differences. These circumstances were favourable to him; yet, from disposition, from habit, and from conviction, he liked much better the confined and monarchical government of the Pope than the open and popular system of his adversaries; and the Papal ordinances, as regarding one undivided, universal power, appeared to him a grand, useful, and wonderful idea. The Jansenists he called men of

great faith, and narrow minds; nor did he think that the constitution of the clergy, it being now antiquated, and having been the cause of many misfortunes, could beneficially be renewed. A new and vigorous system—one more conformable to the wishes of the people, seemed to him to be wanting.

On the other hand, there existed on this subject many and serious difficulties; the chief strength of the Consul lay in his soldiers, and there was some reason to fear that all the religious apparatus to which they had been so long unaccustomed, and the re-appearance of the priests whom they had cruelly persecuted and made the constant subject of rancour and raillery, would appear in some degree ridiculous—a fault above all others to be avoided in France. He feared also, in the first instance, the philosophical sect, who were inimical to the Pope, and much more powerful than that which only impugned the plenitude of his Pontifical authority, and from whom he might otherwise expect great favour and great support. But that which most perplexed his mind was the sale of the church property by the

preceding government. To obtain the confirmation of these sales from the Pope was of the utmost importance, and he knew that Pius the Seventh was very unwilling to make any express declaration on the subject: however, the undisturbed possession of the purchasers was the indispensable foundation of his power. Not a few of the constitutional clergy were in great reputation and of some weight, and the Consul was anxious to conciliate them; yet to persuade the Pope not only to absolve them and receive them again into his bosom, but to raise them to the first offices of the Gallican church, seemed a difficult and intricate matter to accomplish. Equal difficulties existed on the side of the ecclesiastics of the opposite party, who had refused to resign their benefices, even when in exile, partly from conscientious motives and partly from affection towards the royal family of France. No small impediment also to the conclusion of the negociation arose on the subject of the celebration of the Catholic rites; for they had so long fallen into disuse, that great fear was entertained of the scandal that might ensue amidst a population

infected with contrary opinions, if they were all at once publicly celebrated with the accustomed ceremonies of the church. And it was thought that the religious would receive more offence from the outrages that were apprehended, than they could derive edification from the restored worship. The Pope insisted on the celebration of the rites of the church to the fullest extent; but the Consul steadily opposed him on this point, awaiting a more propitious season for complying with the demands of the See of Rome.

Notwithstanding all these difficulties in the way of a negociation of such importance, both parties were sincerely desirous of overcoming them. Pius the Seventh sent to Paris Cardinal Hercules Consalvi, his Secretary of State, Joseph Spina, Archbishop of Corinth, and Father Caselli, theological counsellor of the Holy See. On his side, the Consul invested with full powers to treat and to conclude the negociations, Joseph Buonaparte, Cretet, a counsellor of state, and Bernier, the curate of St. Laud, near Angers. On the 15th of July, a definitive treaty was concluded between the Holy See and the French

republic; an act of *unique* rather than of great importance, since it restored to the Catholic church one of the noblest parts of Europe, and gave peace to so many timid and pious consciences. The Pope was actuated by religious, the Consul by worldly motives, which he did not take much trouble to conceal. This did not fail to give offence, for religious men abhorred to see religion treated as a means, and not as the one important end,—an old, a well-founded, and a useless complaint.

The French government admitted that the Catholic, Apostolic, and Roman religion, was professed by the majority of the French; the Pope, on his part, confessed that from its re-establishment in France it would receive great benefit and new lustre: it was therefore agreed and stipulated between the two parties, that it should be publicly and freely exercised in France, but according to such regulations as the government should judge necessary for the peace of the state. It was also agreed that a new division of the dioceses should be made. The Pontiff advised that the titular bishops should resign their sees; and in

case of refusal, a new election was to take place. Three months after the publication of the Papal bull, the Consul was to name the archbishops and bishops who were to fill the newly divided sees, while the Pope was to grant to those so named canonical confirmation, as had been practised under the ancient government of France. The sees thereafter vacant were to be filled in the same manner; the bishops and other ecclesiastics were to swear fidelity to the republic before their installation, and to promise to reveal all plots against the state; prayers were to be offered up in the churches for the republic and the Consul; the bishops were neither to change the limits of their benefices, nor to fill them without the *beneplacito* of the government; and the unsold churches were to be restored to the diocesans. The Pope renounced both for himself and his successors all right to disturb the possessors of the alienated church property in France, their heirs, or those who might acquire it from them in future by purchase. The French government bound itself to make suitable provision for the prelates and parish priests, and to permit testa-

mentary bequests to the churches for religious purposes. In the Consul, the Pope acknowledged the same rights and prerogatives under the Holy See that the ancient sovereigns of France had enjoyed; and if it should happen that an anti-catholic Consul should ever fill the supreme seat in France, his rights, prerogatives, and the manner of the election of bishops, should become the subject of a new arrangement.

As soon as the concordat was concluded, the Consul dissolved the National Council of Paris, for which he had no longer any occasion. Thus the opposition of the bishops and the constitutional priests tended, through the artifices of Buonaparte, to the entire re-establishment of the Papal authority in France.

When the convention was sent to Rome to be ratified by the Pope, it there gave rise to serious and obstinate disputes. The strict theologians, and those most imbued with the maxims of the Apostolical Chamber, openly condemned the plenipotentiaries for the magnitude of their concessions, which were contrary to the rights and privileges of the Catholic church. The Pope

himself, who was extremely scrupulous and filled with zeal for the church, began to hesitate, and could not resolve to sign the concordat. The articles most objected to were: first, that which permitted the temporal power to regulate the forms of public worship, without any intervention of the spiritual power; and, secondly, that by which the Pope declared the property of those who had purchased church-lands to be inviolable. Some were of opinion that it was not only contrary to the canon law, but to the words of the Apostle,—who declares that bishops are called by the Holy Spirit to govern the church of God,—to maintain that the laity might, without the intervention of the ecclesiastical power, form rules for public worship, which the church should be obliged to confirm, even though the power of the state might be thus secured. They maintained that, without a form of worship, there is no church; that he who regulates the rites and ceremonies, regulates the church; and he who regulates, rules. "Either then, they concluded, it is false that the bishops are appointed by the Holy Spirit to govern the church,

which is heresy; or it is indubitable that the bishops only, and not the laity, are to regulate the worship, which is a dogma." These reasonings caused the Pope to doubt still more as to the part he ought to take. To enable him to decide, he consulted the most learned theologians of Rome. When their opinion was demanded, Cardinal Albani and Father Angelo Merenda, a commissioner of the inquisition, agreed in pronouncing that the Pope might, with a safe conscience, ratify the concordat.

Merenda especially reasoned with extreme subtlety on this matter. He averred "that it would be an heretical proposition to establish, as a canon or maxim of doctrine, that the laity might regulate the service of the church, without the intervention of the ecclesiastical power; but not so when, as in the present instance, it was granted by a convention from the desire of reviving religion and ecclesiastical discipline in a country which had been for so many years deprived of both; although for many centuries it had previously been their chief dwelling place, and its inhabitants the true and legitimate elder

sons of the church. Every man knew the power of the anti-catholic party in France, how entirely religion had there fallen into disuse, and how easily insult might be thrown on it: the circumstances of the times, therefore, required that the Supreme Pontiff should ratify the concordat in the best manner possible, to avoid the greater evil that would result from the refusal, whereby a great number of innocent men would be deprived of the religious aids which might arise to them under the present compromise, and thus commence the important measure of restoring the religion of the country; for it was not the part of a prudent man to throw away the whole, when he might retain a portion; nor could the Pope in any degree be censured for an act which was a mere concession, and which, proceeding from his sole authority, implied no rights to the temporal power, and entailed no precedent. Our Divine Redeemer had commanded the Apostles, in times of adversity, to unite the prudence of the serpent with the simplicity of the dove; which precept, as explained by St. Thomas, signifies that, as the serpent, when in danger, twines

himself about, and hides his head to save it, in like manner the church should study to secure that faith which is the head and the foundation on which the church herself is built; like the dove, too, she ought, with gentleness and lenity, to strive to mitigate the ire of her adversaries." Cardinal Albani the more willingly embraced these opinions, because the plenipotentiaries of France had given a written promise that the modifications and restrictions should not affect any essential or interior discipline, but only relate to processions, burials, and other public ceremonies.

With regard to the article respecting the purchasers of church property, Albani and Merenda were both in favour of the concession; as, according to the terms in which it was worded, his Holiness considered the purchasers of the alienated property as proprietors only in consequence of his own promise, for himself and his successors, of leaving them in peaceful possession of it; and thus he acknowledged no rights antecedent to his own concession. If, on the contrary, the inverse order had been taken, and the Pope had

declared that the immutable right lay in the present possessors of the alienated church property, and that, therefore, the Holy See engaged never to seek to disturb it, this would have deserved severe censure, because it would, in some measure, have countenanced the error condemned by the second Lateran Council, and the Council of Constance, in Arnold of Brescia, Marsilio of Padua, and Giovanni da Garduno; and the heresies of the Waldenses, the Wickliffites, and Hussites. But, as it stood, the article was unexceptionable; the right of property resulting from the remission of the Pope, not the remission from a previous right.

On receiving these explanations from the Cardinal and the commissioner, Pius no longer delayed to give his consent, but at once ratified the concordat. He at the same time sent briefs to the titular bishops, commanding them to resign their sees:—some obeyed, but the greater part, especially those who had sought refuge in England, refused to resign. Of the constitutional bishops, Primat, Le Blanc de Beaulieu, Perrier, Lecoz, and Saurin, on making submission to the

Pope, received confirmation in the sees to which the Consul had appointed them.

All difficulties being thus removed, the Consul published the concordat on the Easter of 1802. He wrote at the same time a circular to the bishops, in which he spoke of the philosophers with great asperity; and then addressing the French in Buonapartean phrases, he declared "that a revolution, which had arisen from patriotism, had produced religious discords, and from them the miseries of private families, the transports of faction, the hopes of foreign enemies. Insensate men had overthrown the altars and prostrated religion: through their means, those devout religious solemnities had been discontinued, in which all men appear as brothers, and in which, under the hand of a creating God, all were equal. Through their machinations, the dying no longer heard the consoling voice which calls Christians to a better life; and, through them, God himself seemed to be banished from nature. The interior was desolated by religious quarrels; the stranger was called from without, to the destruction of the state; passion had no restraint,

morals no support, misfortune no hope; society was agonised to dissolution. These evils religion alone could remedy. In this conviction the concordat had been framed—the desires of the Consul, and the dictates of the Pontifical wisdom, had been approved by the legislators of the republic; and thus the seeds of discord would be destroyed; thus conscientious scruples ratified, and the impediments in the way of internal peace removed. He exhorted the ministers of religion to forget all former dissensions, errors, and misfortunes; to reconcile the country to the church; to unite themselves once more to the country; to train up the young to love the laws, and obey the magistrates; to inculcate that the God of peace was also the God of armies, and that stretching forth his mighty arm, he gave the victory to those who defended the liberty of France."

The pious amongst the French were much rejoiced at the restoration of religion. It excited great joy in Rome also; but the satisfaction of the Pope was not without some alloy, for the Consul had accompanied the publication of the concordat with certain rules of ecclesiastical

discipline, in the form of decrees, which, according to the ideas of Rome, offended the prerogatives of the Holy See, or restricted the authority of the bishops, and rendered the entrance into the ecclesiastical state more difficult than in former times. He forbade any bull, brief, or rescript whatsoever from the Court of Rome to be published or executed in France, without the *beneplacito* of the government—a prohibition which, as it affected the briefs of the penitentiary court, was contrary to all custom, and little decorous towards the Holy See. Without the *beneplacito*, no one was to assume the character of nuncio, vicar, legate, or apostolical commissioner; neither could the decrees of foreign synods, or those of general councils be published, without the previous approbation of government. No council, national or metropolitan—no diocesan synod could be held without its permission. The ecclesiastical functions were to be performed gratuitously, but the clergy were at liberty to receive the voluntary oblations of the pious. Application was to be made to the Council of State for the remedy of abuses; that is to say, all abuses con-

trary to the laws of the Republic, or the canonical law of France—every offence against the liberty, franchises, and customs of the Gallican church—every act committed during the celebration of religious rites, which might either offend the honour of the citizens, arbitrarily disturb their consciences, or tend to oppression, outrage, or scandal. The bishops were, moreover, forbidden to ordain any ecclesiastic who did not possess an annual income of three hundred francs, or who had not attained the age of twenty-five years. Nor was less offence given by the article by which the Consul enjoined all professors of seminaries to subscribe to the declaration of the clergy of France in 1802, and to teach the doctrine of the Four Articles—an intolerable doctrine to the Court of Rome, at least as regarded the three last of them.

All these regulations concerning ecclesiastical discipline, although they were just and necessary, as well for the security of the temporal power as for the good order of the state; and although they had long been customary, not only in France, but in other countries of Europe, more especially

in Italy, sounded harsh to Roman ears, yet to these the Consul added another, which really was intolerable, because it affected a point of jurisdiction; and this was, that the vicars general of a vacant diocese should continue to exercise the episcopal authority after the death of a bishop, until his successor should be appointed. This appeared to be out of all rule, for the vicars general are nothing more than commissioners of the bishop, and, as such, their authority ceases on the death of him who commissioned them. It would have been a better and a more equitable regulation, to vest all authority in the chapter of the cathedral church during a vacancy, which the vicars elected by it ought to exercise.

The Pope complained of these things, but the Consul did not in the least heed his complaints. In an eloquent address to the Consistory, the former detailed the stipulations of the concordat, and described the state of France:—"Behold," said he, "the temples of the Most High once more opened, and inscribed with the august name of God and of his saints; the ministers of the sanctuary assembled round the altar and united

with the faithful by the sacred ceremonies. Their flocks have again returned to the tutelage of the legitimate pastors; the sacraments of the church are again celebrated with decency, and without hindrance; the standard of the cross is once more unfurled; the day of the Lord once more kept holy. The head of the church—with whom whosoever does not gather, scatters—is once more acknowledged; and, finally, a deplorable schism that, from the great extent of France, the celebrity of its inhabitants, the splendour of its cities, menaced the Catholic religion with great danger and serious injury, is now at an end. Such are the benefits—such the happiness, that the sacred day of redemption on which the concordat was published, has produced for France, filling her temples with penitent and pious worshippers." After a short pause, the Pontiff thus resumed:—"My venerable brethren, in the midst of all this satisfaction we are, nevertheless, afflicted by some severe wounds. With the concordat some articles have been published without our knowledge, of which it is our duty, according to the customs of our predecessors, to demand the

explanation, and either some modification or change. This we shall seek from the Consul,—this we hope from his wisdom and his piety, and from the piety and wisdom of the French nation, which for so many centuries has merited so much from the church, and which now with such eagerness and warmth embraces religion once more. The government of France desires the restoration of religion; it cannot, therefore, but be willing to grant whatever the holy constitution or the salutary discipline of the church may require." In fact, the Pope continued to contend for the reformation of the Four Articles; but the Consul having obtained the concordat, chose to be master of the church, not that the church should be his; he, therefore, replied now with subterfuges—now with menaces; nor could the Pontiff ever succeed in his endeavours. In this state did the affairs of the church continue in France, until fresh concessions on the part of the Pontiff, and increasing ambition on that of the Consul, brought every thing to ruin and dissolution; and in this manner did Rome contend with France.

In the mean time a remarkable change had,

before the close of the year, taken place in Piedmont. The Consul had coveted this country for himself, but he delayed to seize it, and carefully disguised his intentions. He had even willingly received the Marquis of San Marsan at Paris, to negociate for the restitution of Piedmont. The uncertainty and the equivocations of the Consul—his public offers made to the king after the battle of Marengo, and the presence of the Marquis at Paris, kept the people of Piedmont in suspense, and prevented all means of good government. Every one looked towards Florence, Rome, or Naples: the king, Charles Emanuel, resided in turn, as circumstances demanded. About him were many of the richest and most influential of the Piedmontese nobility; amongst others, Victor Alfieri, a native of Asti in Piedmont, a man of boundless genius, acknowledged by every one to be the father of Italian tragedy, and worthy to be not only venerated, but adored, by all the votaries of the Italian muse. Having hated and satirized kings when they were in power, he now set himself as busily to hate and satirize republics, since they had become potent; and this less on account

of the evil that actually existed in either the one or the other, than from his natural disposition to struggle against the stream. Thus, then, he remained at Florence, thundering against the state of affairs in Piedmont. The opinion of such a man was of great weight, and tended considerably to weaken the provisional government. The fate of Lombardy and Liguria was now in some degree certain, but that of Piedmont was still unrevealed: those, therefore, who entertained hopes of the return of the king had fresh reason to hope; while those who feared it had still great reason for fear. In the midst of all these perplexities, a circumstance of the utmost importance took place in the north. On the night of the 23rd of March, 1801, the Emperor Paul, of Russia, died in a violent manner. The Consul no sooner knew this, than feeling himself relieved from the embarrassment occasioned by his importunities, and wishing to anticipate the remonstrances of his son and successor Alexander, he issued a decree, by which, although the definitive union of Piedmont with France was not yet announced, yet it was sufficiently manifested that

such was his intention. This decree assimilated the government of France to that of Piedmont, lest it should seem offensive to the new Emperor that the ruler of France should have acted without consulting him in a matter of so much importance: the decree bore a date anterior to the day in which the news of the Emperor Paul's death had reached him; for he hoped that Alexander, finding, on his accession, the thing done, would be brought to consent to it without difficulty. The decree dated the 2d of April, 1801, annexed Piedmont to France; as a military division, that was to be in six departments. The laws of the republic, administrative and judicial, were to be executed and published in Piedmont; the treasury was to be in common; after the 1st of June an administrator-general, with a council of six, was to govern:—Jourdan was appointed to this office. The six departments were as follow:—the Eridanus with Turin; Marengo with Alexandria; the Tanaro with Asti; the Sesia with Vercelli; the Dora with Ivrea; the Stura with Cuneo; but the name of the first was changed by the Consul, who began

to dislike classical appellations, from that of the Eridanus to the Po, and in this he thought he had made a fortunate hit.

Jourdan sent deputies to Paris to promise obedience and proffer thanks. These were Bossi, one of the counsellors, Baudisson, one of the professors of the University, and the nobles d'Harcourt, Alfieri di Sostegno, Rovere, and Serra. They were received there with great good will, especially the nobles, whom the Consul wished to gain. Fouché alone, the minister of general police, broke out in their presence into unmeasured terms against priests and aristocrats; which made the deputies laugh and shrug their shoulders.

The Consul, in the mean time, strove to conciliate the mind of Alexander, and to unite him to himself in friendship; and, as he was most astute, and profoundly skilled in all the arts that France, Italy, or Egypt could teach, having heard that the young emperor was of a generous nature, inclined to govern rather by gentleness than by severity, he endeavoured to sound him on every side. "Providence," he said "the arbiter of

human affairs, had willed that a prince of noble and benevolent mind should succeed to the throne of Russia; it had also willed that a general of some name should rise to the supreme authority in France. This general delighted both in philosophy and religion; he knew what moderation became the first, what protection was due to the second. The world would become happy if the powerful states of France and Russia should join for the same end. The human race was wounded, bleeding, disconsolate; the injuries it had received were terminated, but the remedy had not been found. Despotism was arrayed against it on one side, and anarchy on the other. If Alexander and Buonaparte should unite in the same design, limits might be assigned to despotic power, and an invincible bridle placed on licentiousness. The affairs of Italy, Switzerland, and Holland were yet to be arranged, and if Alexander would express his wishes, they should be fulfilled. The new century ought to begin with a new and happy destiny, these were the presages, the pledges given by heaven to Buonaparte and to Alexander. It was their duty to show to the

disgrace of so many ages of misery that there are means of leading man to happiness,—to prove that those who calumniate the human race are those who hate it,—to show that philosophy does not deceive, that religion does not persecute, that liberty does not conduct to anarchy. They were bound to show that all three united could produce supreme happiness: to this joyful end, he was desirous of employing all his will and all his power, if Alexander would direct his wishes and his influence to promote the same purpose; and thus posterity might be enabled to say, that not in vain had philosophers hoped that happier stars were one day to shine on the afflicted race of man."

As a benevolent prince, Alexander yielded to this insinuating language, to such flattering magnificent ideas, not suspecting the poison that was hidden beneath. In the mean time, the Consul, secure of the friendship of Russia, was urging on his aspiring fortunes; and, whilst Alexander was feeding himself with delusive hopes, he stretched forth his hand to the regal sceptre, and set forward on his course of universal empire. Com-

mencing by Piedmont, which he thought it was necessary to keep, in order to hold the sovereignty of Italy without any intervening impediment, he commanded the decree of the second of April to be put in execution. Austria powerless from defeat, England from distance, neither gave consent, nor offered opposition; persuaded, moreover, that if some unforeseen circumstance did not arise to aid them, human councils were vain. The Parisian commissioners arrived at Turin to regulate the state: some for the finances, some for the exchequer, some for the lottery, others for the public offices, the seats of learning, and the courts of justice. The antique simplicity of the administrative laws of the country had degenerated into complicated forms; the new ordinances, however, cost double as much. The amelioration of the judicial laws, both civil and criminal, was great, and so immense a benefit was derived from their prompt decisions, that it afforded some consolation for the loss of independence. So much for the things that were written; as for the secret arts of subornation and circumvention, I know not if they were pre-

scribed, but certainly they were extraordinary. The Consul desired to reduce every thing to a monarchical form; while the republicans of France, with the exception of the most furious, whom he had either incarcerated or banished to distant shores, seconded him, nor had he shown himself niggardly in bestowing on them caresses and riches. As for the Italian republicans, there were two modes of subduing them,—either to reduce them, like those of France, or to destroy them; not, however, by the destruction of life; for it was not the Borgian age, and deeds of blood were no longer tolerable, but by taking away their authority and reputation. This last mode then was that he fixed upon; and the riches of their adversaries favoured his designs, for they sent gifts and money to the corrupted Thuilleries, by which means he was also stimulated by others to do that to which his own wishes already inclined him. Many were therefore deprived of their offices; and, not content with this, he gave favour and encouragement to their enemies, and laboured to destroy and vilify their name and honour—infamous intrigues, for

he persecuted those who had assisted him, and caressed those who had contemned him.

As a matter of mere policy, this might have been wise, if the season of adversity could never arrive; but not otherwise, because thus he lost his friends without gaining his enemies; but of prosperity only did the Consul ever dream. Jourdan, who was esteemed a republican, still remained to the Piedmontese; but he was soon removed, since, although he had but feebly supported them, he was still looked up to as the head of the republican party. The praises of the Consul and the regrets of the Piedmontese accompanied him on his departure. He was replaced at Turin by Menou. It would be a tedious task, and ill becoming the gravity of history, to relate all the follies and whimsical caprices of this man's conduct; yet, I cannot but wonder that the Consul should have thought it expedient, in order to restore, as he said, the ordinances of monarchy in Piedmont, to send thither the Menou of France; and, to re-establish the religion of Christ, as he also said, to despatch thither the Menou of Egypt. It might be, that he hoped to terrify

by a certain air of Turkish despotism; but awe can never be inspired by those who render themselves ridiculous. It was peculiarly strange to see the caresses which Menou bestowed on the nobility, and the flatteries with which they returned his advances; on his side, humility and fawning, on theirs, cunning and pride; he enjoying the manner in which he was courted, with unalloyed satisfaction. He affirmed, very truly, that his proceedings were dictated by the government; but a government can confer only authority, not discretion; and of this latter quality Menou had none. Thus were matters conducted in the Subalpine territory until the period of the definitive union with France: the partisans of France were persecuted, the partisans of Sardinia caressed, the partisans of Italian interests used as instruments of calumny and of vengeance, and the royal gardens were deformed by a licentious barrack for the use of a Turk. In this manner commenced the legal government promised to the generous and unfortunate Piedmont.

The Consul governed Piedmont by Menou, Tuscany by Murat. To the latter, as his brother-

in-law, he wished to open the way to greatness: nor was Murat of a bad disposition, his judgment only was defective, and his vanity overweening; therefore, although his heart was good, he bent himself willingly to fulfil the wishes of the Consul, let them be whatever they might. The division of the army which he commanded had been originally sent to Italy to reinforce the right wing under Brune, and to occupy Tuscany. On the peace of Luneville it had advanced to the Roman states, to await the moment for attacking the kingdom of Naples; and, after peace had been concluded with that power, it had entered the kingdom and penetrated even as far as Tarento, nominally, in order to oblige the government to observe the treaty and its promises of pardon to innovators; but, in fact, to menace the English, and to live at the expense of the country. As for the Roman state, as soon as the concordat was concluded, Murat stationed the troops that were still there, in Ancona, which was to serve as a bridle in the mouth of the Pope, although he coloured the fact with the pretext of defending the place against the English. In the same

manner the English occupied whatever they could, either in Italy or the Italian isles, to impede, as they said, the domination and tyranny of the French, who, on their part, protested they acted similarly only to prevent the tyranny and domination of the English. In the mean time, between them both, Italy had neither rest nor hope: Murat roamed about at will through Tuscany, visiting in turn Florence, Pisa, Legliorn, and Lucca; and wherever he went the most honourable reception awaited him, as the brother-in-law of the Consul. This gave him indescribable satisfaction. He was courteous and affable to all; he was no lover of rapine, still less of cruelty, praise only was necessary to his happiness; and yet he was guilty of an action, at the command of the Consul, I believe, in which I know not whether most to condemn its barbarity, ingratitude, or violence. He commanded, by a public proclamation, that all the Italian exiles (the major part were Neapolitans), who were banished for political opinions, should withdraw from Tuscany, and return to their native states, in which, as he affirmed, they might, in virtue of

the treaties, live in security and tranquillity. Whosoever refused to obey this mandate was conducted by force to the frontiers and expelled. That nothing might be wanting to the brutality of this proceeding, the occasion taken to put it in execution was during a popular tumult, which had arisen at Florence on the execution of a Tuscan soldier convicted of murdering a French soldier, as if the exiles had been guilty of rebellion against the laws of a hospitable country, and were in league with assassins. Certain, however, it is, that this alone was wanting to fill up the measure of the malevolence of the age—that those who, at the instigations of France, had made themselves obnoxious to their ancient lords, should now, like malefactors, be driven by a French general from the asylum they had chosen. Thieves and assassins of other countries might take refuge in Tuscany, and there abide in peace; the lovers only of the name of liberty,—men, if mistaken in their opinions, yet certainly ingenuous and worthy, could not be harboured there, nor there find repose or safety, but were driven forth by the very persons through whose influ-

ence they had been brought into these miserable straits. Never was there a more intolerable abuse of power than that of imposing bonds on innocent men to drive them whither they did not choose to go: but not from Tuscany only were the miserable exiles driven; for, whilst Murat expelled them from this state, the Cisalpine republic issued a similar order, with the customary addition, that, if they did not yield obedience in ten days, they should be conveyed to the frontiers by force. These were the pledges that the Buonapartists gave to kings. A pitiable circumstance occurred in consequence; for the Neapolitan exiles, driven from their refuge in Tuscany, had not the necessary passports when they arrived at Rome, so that they had neither liberty to stay there, nor power to go on, or to turn back. From these events, those who have a mania for revolutions, and who trust to foreigners, may learn prudence. In Piedmont only did the banished find a happy and a secure retreat.

Gratified with his command in Tuscany, Murat was overjoyed to be employed there in the installation of a king. The Infant, Prince of

Parma, had arrived in that city, where he awaited the deputies of the new kingdom. Murat, Ippolito Venturi, and Ubaldo Feroni, proceeded thither to salute him, and to acknowledge him as King of Etruria, the title that had been conferred on him. He assumed the name of Louis the First, and appointed Cæsar Venturi as his lieutenant to the kingdom.

When he announced the accession of Louis, Murat descanted to the Tuscans on civilization and learning, praised the Medicis and the Leopolds, and exhorted them to consider the French as a nation of friends, who knew as well how to respect monarchical principles in foreign countries, as to cherish republican ones in their native land. Cesar Ventura took possession of the kingdom. During the solemnity, speeches were made by Francesco Gonnella, notary of state, Tommaso Maquani, royal advocate, and the senator Orlando del Benino, which were flattering in substance, although frank in expression; and, on this occasion, Gian Battista Grisoni complimented two of the female sex, the sister of the Consul and the widow of the minister of Spain. When Louis

arrived at Florence, he exercised a gentle rule, treading in the footsteps of Leopold.

This was the season for temporary constitutions, which were made not to last, but merely to serve as stepping-stones to others. The Consul despatched his legate, Saliceti, to reform Lucca, which was oppressed by the dominion of foreigners, and lacerated by civil dissensions. It was thought a clever expedient for bringing back states to their ancient ordinances, for the satisfaction of princes, to introduce in newly-erected governments ancient names at least, as if words could prevail over facts. The Lucchese made the customary fêtes for Saliceti. They who had most attacked the state were now the first to support it,—those who had exclaimed most violently against aristocrats now most caressed them; and to this party it was that the French commissioner chiefly devoted himself. If the democrats took offence, he exhorted them to bear the times patiently, in compliance with the wishes of the Consul, adding, that liberty would be more effectually preserved by a mixture of the two parties, than by pure democracy. Aristocracy was now

spoken of to prepare the way for monarchy. Saliceti constituted for the republic of Lucca a grand college, or council, consisting of 200 rich proprietors, and 100 of the principal traders, artists, and literati. This council had the privilege of electing the chief magistrates. There was also a council of ancients with executive power, over which a Gonfalonier presided, who was elected once in two months from its members in turn; and, besides this, there was an administrative council, into which the ancients entered, and four magistracies of three members each exercised the offices of ministers. The ancients proposed the laws, and executed them; while an assembly of twenty, elected from the colleges, discussed and confirmed them. The Gonfalonier represented the republic, promulgated the laws, and signed the acts of the ancients. The cantons of Serchio with Lucca, of the Littorale with Viareggio, of the Apennines with Borgo as far as Monzano, composed the republic. Saliceti the first time chose the magistrates. These were good institutions, but time corrupted them. The fate of Tuscany was connected with

that of Parma. On the death of the Duke of Parma, the sovereignty of the state devolved to the French republic. The Consul sent Moreau de St. Mery, the councillor of state, to administer the affairs of the Duchy; and St. Mery, who was a man of benevolence and probity, ruled with mildness and justice. If not learned, he was yet not wholly unlettered, and was an admirer, both of literary men and of their works: every exalted idea pleased him. He gave way, however, to some vanity; and, as individual vanity is intolerable to the spirit of universal ambition, he fell into disgrace with the Consul. Nothing permanent could, at this period, be arranged for Parma, because the Consul, who was securing the territory for himself, did not choose even to appear to resign it to others.

The mind of Buonaparte was capable of exercising the most contrary qualities in the prosecution of his designs. Cautious and patient circumspection, continued for a course of years, was evinced in the preparation of his plans; but, when the moment of their maturity arrived, impetuous haste and bold rapidity marked their execution.

Having reconciled himself to the Pope, defeated Austria, and deluded Alexander, being also confident of peace with England, he applied himself to bring into effect that which he had so long conceived in his own mind, and had so pertinaciously pursued. He was anxious that the first impulse should come from Italy, fearing that a certain residuum of republican opinions in France might prove of bad consequence, if the way were not smoothed for his design by some exciting precedent. He knew that example has powerful effect on our imitative race, and that men willingly conform to precedent. Previously, therefore, to declaring himself in France, he resolved to make his experiments in Italy, believing that the Italians, as a conquered people, would be more submissive to his will. Thus, having conquered Italy by the arms of France, he sought to vanquish France by the obsequious concessions of Italy. Public spectacles of theatrical effect are pleasing to men in general; and Buonaparte especially delighted in them. He knew that scenes of novel effect have a charm for all, and are peculiarly fascinating to the French, whose imagination is

naturally so powerful. His Italian machinations, therefore, were opened with imposing effect; and in Lombardy his most devoted adherents were artfully employed in disseminating the idea of the insecurity arising to the Cisalpine republic from the temporary nature of its government. "Now was the time to secure to it the stability becoming an independent state; a strong government was necessary for internal peace and external respect; nor was any one more capable of bestowing on it the necessary ordinances than he who had first created and then renewed it. The ordinances it had received from the hero Buonaparte, in ninety-nine, were no longer sufficient, because they had been debased by invasion, were remembrances of discord, and were suspected of democracy by the neighbouring powers. To secure peace in Europe and in Italy, public tranquillity should no longer suffer the risk of disturbance from ill-arranged systems. It was desirable to live under republican institutions, but not such as were too widely dissimilar to the ancient governments which had been preserved in Europe. The Cisalpine state, aided by France, was the only power in Italy

capable of keeping Austria in check, formidable as she was by the acquisition of the Venetian territory; but the republic could acquire the necessary strength only by a form of laws conducive to stability. Various were the dispositions, the interests, and the opinions, of the Cisalpine population; nor could Venetians, Milanese, Modenese, Novarese, and Bolognese, concur in the same desires, or even wish exactly the same thing. The traces of ancient rivalry were visible: separate and dissentient parts could never form one strong united body, if a strict government and a vigorous hand did not constrain them to unity of design. A new regimen was become necessary to concord and firm peace with other powers. It was also requisite to the tranquillity of the Cisalpine republic, and by the happy fortunes to which they were invited."

Whilst these ideas were disseminated amongst the people, Petiet negociated with the chiefs of the republic, in order that the imperative commands of the Consul might appear to be the desires and the spontaneous supplications of the nation. When the consultations were concluded

at Paris for the design, and at Milan for its execution, a decree was issued by the legislative council of the Cisalpine republic, commanding an extraordinary consulto to proceed to Lyons, in order there to frame the fundamental laws of the state, and to give information to the Consul as to the persons eligible for admission into the three electoral colleges. This assembly was to consist of the actual members of the legislative council; of those of the executive commission, with the exception of three, who were to remain behind for the government of the country; of a deputation of bishops and of curates, and of deputations from the tribunals, the academies, the universities, the national guard, the regular troops, the notables of the departments, and the Chamber of Commerce. The number, in all, amounted to 450. There shone a Visconti, archbishop of Milan, a Castiglione, a Monticucoli, an Opizzomi, a Rangoni, a Melzi, a Paradisi, a Caprara, a Serbelloni, an Aldrovandi, a Giovio, a Pallavicini, a Moscati, a Gambara, a Lecchi, a Borromeo, a Triulzi, a Fantoni, a Belgiojoso, a Mangili, a Cagnoli, an Oriani, a Codronchi, archbishop of

Ravenna, a Belisomi, bishop of Cesena, and a Dolfino, bishop of Bergamo. Some went to Lyons from good will, some from fear, some from ambition. Great expectations were formed in Lombardy, and in France the public mind was profoundly attentive; for it seemed something wonderful to see an Italian nation adjourning itself to France, there to regulate its destiny. In a public manifesto, the Cisalpine government exhorted its deputies to lay the foundation of salutary institutions in the midst of the greater nation, in the presence of the author and restorer of the Cisalpine republic. "No one ought to decline the task: it was their duty to show, by their exalted personal qualifications, how great was the worth of their nation,—to acquire for her love and respect, and to wrest from calumny every pretext. They were to bear with them to the congress, neither envy, hatred, nor partiality; but were to display to the world, whilst acting faithfully, honourably, and patriotically, that they were those same Cisalpines who, amidst the inevitable tumult of conflicting passions, amidst all the perplexities of frequent change, amidst the

vicissitudes of opposing political events, had never favoured revenge, discord, faction, persecution, or encouraged cruelty. It was theirs to prove that the Cisalpine nation deserved her reputation for loyalty and benevolence; to prove that, if she was destined to take a high rank amongst nations, it was a rank to which she was worthy of being raised. To herself alone was she to be indebted for her institutions; to herself alone would the failure be attributed, if such joyful auguries, such exalted hopes, should prove to have been in vain."

These noble sentiments of patriotism, and this renunciation of all partial affection and interest, were inculcated by Sommariva, the president of the government. At Lyons, the deputies found Talleyrand, the minister, who had made himself master of all the Consul's wishes. There also was Marescalchi, recognised by France as the Cisalpine minister for foreign affairs, who carefully watched the countenance of Talleyrand, and obeyed every sign it gave. The point of importance was, that those things should appear to spring from unbiassed discussion, which the Con-

sul had already imperiously commanded. He had already been liberal of phrases,—saying that "he desired the felicity of Lombardy; that he wished to win for her the opinions of the wise. For nothing was he more desirous than for her independence and welfare; he loved her as a favourite daughter; he esteemed her as a part of his own glory." These artifices took root, and the business was well arranged. The deputies set out in five divisions, representing the five nations, that they might examine the constitution given by Petiet, at Milan, on the part of the Consul, and consider how it might be put in execution as a fundamental law.

Whilst the deputies were debating at Lyons, those who deputed them were tormented by military license: an inexorable government afflicted them by imposing contributions; they complained of the loss of property, of innumerable insults, and of the harshest slavery; but the cries of the afflicted at Milan were smothered in the shouts of the revellers at Lyons. At Lyons they discussed and obeyed: when these discussions had been continued long enough for a suffi-

cient demonstration of dignity, the Consul arrived at Lyons on the 11th of January. The Lyonese and Cisalpines ran to meet him, in emulation of each other. It was a grand spectacle for him who looked only on the exterior, but a lamentable one for him who looked within; for there they were plotting to abolish by law that liberty which had before been destroyed by abuse. Every one was astonished by the suavity and simplicity of the Consul, qualities which they thought must be a part of greatness; and adulation streamed forth. The republicans (if any there were) were devoured by rage, but they dissembled, not so much to avoid being considered factious, as to avoid being considered madmen or fools; for such were already the names the age was beginning to apply to them. Buonaparte put his hand to the work: he summoned the Presidents of the Assembly, and discussed with them the subject of the constitution: now he approved, now he amended, now asked for advice. Mildly expressing dissent, patiently hearing opposition, he seemed to receive from others those opinions with which he himself furnished them. The penetrating wondered at

his art; the unsuspecting admired his modesty. At the end of the discourses which were permitted they came to the conclusion which had been commanded: the constitution was approved; the electoral colleges seemed a good and fundamental ordinance. The Consul nominated them, the first time, from a double list presented by the assembly; but the principal key had not yet been struck, that for which half Italy had been made to come into France. An example rather than a constitution was expected from the Italians. A president was to be nominated for Lombardy. The choice as to the person was of consequence, as was also the duration of the office; for Buonaparte did not relish temporary magistracies. It was insinuated to the Cisalpines, that they should make him the head of their republic—should appoint him president for ten years, with the capability of being re-elected as often as might be desired. These two points had some difficulties attending them, partly from the Cisalpines themselves, partly from the offence arising to other powers; from the too evident dependence on France, if the Consul should be the ruler of

Lombardy. It implied also the confession, that no Cisalpine was capable of governing. Some inclined to give their votes to Melzi; the ministers of Buonaparte were diligent with his partisans; now praising Melzi—now affirming that great authority would be given to him under the new government. All these artifices produced the desired effect. The Cisalpines presented themselves before the Consul with the declaration of their resolutions; and this was drawn up with such adulation towards him, and such depreciation of themselves, that I do not believe the annals of history can furnish a meaner or a more disgraceful act. They confessed, nay, even laboured to prove by argument, (to such baseness had he reduced them) that there was no Cisalpine who could fitly govern the state. The Consul enjoyed in these humble words the fulfilment of his own orders, and promised to take his place on the morrow amidst the public assembly of the Cisalpines. Accompanied by the ministers of France, by the counsellors of state, by the generals, the prefects, and the municipal magistrates of Lyons, amidst the joyous greetings and

the festive plaudits of the Cisalpines, he took the elevated seat prepared for him, and thus addressed them:—"I have assembled you around me at Lyons as the principal citizens of the Cisalpine republic. You have furnished me with information sufficient to enable me to fulfil the exalted duty imposed on me, as the first magistrate of the French people, and as the founder of your republic. I chose your magistrates without partiality as to place or party. As to the supreme rank of president, I have not found any man amongst you who, for services rendered to his country, for his authority with the people, or his separation from party, has deserved such an office. The reasons you have prudently alleged have convinced me: I consent to your desires, and will support, as long as it may be necessary, the great weight of your affairs. Amidst my numerous cares, it will be grateful to me to hear of the stability of your government, and the felicity of your people. You have no general laws, no national customs, no powerful armies; but God blesses you, since you possess all that can be created to form them,—a numerous population,

fertile plains, and the example of France." This arrogant speech was followed by the loudest plaudits, both from French and Cisalpines. To the former, servitude was mitigated by domination over foreigners; to the latter, it was embittered by contempt. But the slaves of either side applauded as vehemently as if they had been both honoured and free. They expressed a desire that the republic (this was preconcerted amongst the most devoted) should no longer be called Cisalpine, but Italian—a circumstance pregnant with consequences, especially in the hand of Buonaparte. To this, therefore, the Consul willingly consented. A reply was now made, in a strain of adulation, by Prina, who, being of a severe and arbitrary disposition, had thoroughly understood the Consul, and the Consul him, and he sought to push himself into authority. He pleased, and in reward received honours and power.

The Italians proclaimed the Consul president for ten years, with the capability of being re-elected; Melzi was appointed vice-president. The latter, a man distinguished both by genero-

sity and wisdom, and much beloved by the Italians, inclined towards absolute power; yet more from elevation of mind than from vanity. The constitution was yet to be formed. They began by ecclesiastical ordinances: the Catholic, Apostolic, and Roman religion, was to be the religion of the state; notwithstanding which, the rites of other sects might be performed in private, without molestation. The government was to appoint the bishops, the Holy See to confirm them. The bishops were to appoint the parochial clergy, the government was to confirm their appointment; and each diocese was to have a metropolitan chapter and a seminary. The unsold property was to be restored to the clergy. Within three months, fitting funds were to be granted for the bishops, the chapters, the seminaries, and the ecclesiastical buildings. Pensions were to be assigned for the suppressed religious orders. The limits of the dioceses were not to be changed in future. The approbation of the Holy See was to be obtained for those which had already been altered. Delinquents amongst the clergy were to be punished by the bishops, according to the

penalties of the canonical law. If any should prove refractory, the bishops were to have recourse to the secular power. If any ecclesiastic were convicted of crime, his bishop was to be informed of the sentence, that he might proceed according to the regulations of the canons. Every public act offensive to morality, to religion, or its ministers, was to be prohibited. No rector was to be forced by the magistrates to celebrate a marriage against the canonical law. In this manner was the Italian church regulated in the council of Lyons. Some other articles, although laudable and wise, required the consent of the Pope, as they interfered with ecclesiastical jurisdiction. Notwithstanding, the Archbishop of Ravenna, in artful discourse, assented to them in the name of all the clergy of Italy, an assent which was unnecessary if the secular power had a right to ordain, and insufficient if the authority of the Pope were indispensable. But the Consul, confiding in the first warmth of his recent friendship with the Pope, entertained no fears of opposition on his part, and he knew that daring assumption generally bends and intimidates others.

As for the civil ordinances, the three colleges— of landed proprietors, of scientific men, and of traders, were the foundation of the government; in them was vested the sovereign authority. Their office was to nominate the members of the Censorship, of the Council of State, of the Legislative Body, of the Tribunals of Revision and Cassation, and of the Chamber of Finance. Further, they were to impeach the magistrates, if guilty of a violation of the constitution, or of peculation; and, finally, they were to decide in cases where the government censorship disagreed on accusations of this nature. The landholders were to hold their sittings at Milan, the learned at Bologna, and the merchants at Brescia; and they were to meet once in two years. The supreme tribunal was the censorship; which was to consist of nine proprietors, six learned professors, and six merchants. It was to accuse, and to judge the accusations brought before it, for violation of the constitution, and for peculation; it was to assemble five days after the recess of the colleges; and its sittings were to last for ten days, and no longer. This was a wise institution;

but the servility of the age rendered it useless. The government of the state was committed to a president, a vice-president, a council of state, executive ministers, and a legislative council. The president possessed the executive power, the vice-president the patronage. The ministers were responsible to the state for all their acts. It was the office of the Council of State to examine and authorize the instructions of the ministers for foreign affairs, and to examine treaties. They might, in extreme cases, suspend the laws guaranteeing personal liberty, and the action of the constitution: they had also a discretionary power to provide in any manner for the safety of the republic. If, after the lapse of three years, any alteration of the constitution should be judged necessary, they were to propose it to the colleges, and those assemblies were to decide.

The Legislative Council had the privilege of debating on the laws proposed by the president, and of advising him on any subject submitted to their consideration.

The Legislative Body registered the laws pro-

posed by the government, yet did not discuss them, but rendered their votes without debate.

Such were the principal ordinances of the constitution of the Italian republic. Perhaps they were the best, especially the three colleges and the tribunal of censorship, that Buonaparte ever devised.

When the constitution had been read and accepted, the Consul retired to his Lyonese palace, the populace following at his heels with acclamations. Then, after receiving the homage of the Italians, and naming the ministers, he set out, satisfied with his success, and with his Italian experiment, to the wonderful and wondering capital of France.

Great rejoicings took place in the Italian republic, on account of the constitution which had been given, and the president it had acquired. Adulation reached its acmé, and became tiresome from repetition. The magistrates took their places with much solemnity, according to the new statutes, and in taking his, Melzi spoke of the Consul in exalted terms—of himself, modestly—of his predecessors, severely; and

dwelt much upon the subject of corruption. Luxury was great; and Melzi lived in a princely manner, but without any affectation of grandeur. The president being at a distance, independence seemed greater: soldiers were enrolled for the conscription, and good laws were framed. Prina, the Minister of Finance, rendered the revenue of the state so flourishing that, notwithstanding the annual tribute paid to France, the treasury was full, and the taxes light. Letters and science also flourished; but adulation was more successful than liberality of sentiment; and whoever was inclined to speak with any degree of freedom, was placed where no one could hear him more. The Council of State had been expressly created for this purpose; and, being to the last degree submissive, devised means of constraining men to silence. This was felt by Ceroni, a youth of exalted and vivid genius, who, for some verses which touched on independence, was first imprisoned and then exiled: Teuillet, also, an Italian general, Cicognara, and some some others, were implicated in the same affair, merely for having praised Ceroni's verses. On hearing these things

the other poets and literati exerted themselves to attain the very climax of adulation.

Buonaparte said, that it was time to restrain the prevailing license, and in this he had reason entirely on his side; yet, unhappily, he repressed alike not only what was pernicious, but what was salutary. Much was written at this time, but nothing which had any vigour, except some imprecations against England, for maledictions against that country had become a branch of flattery. Nothing was written that had any dignity, crawling adulation debasing every thing;—nothing had any originality, both the style and matter being squared to the model of the French idiom and French literature. Neither in this respect was what was good selected for imitation; but the very worst productions—the most insipid pamphlets, the most crude and wretched journals served as examples. The president Buonaparte had found an effectual method of preventing writers from manufacturing what was contraband; namely, by enriching them, and raising them to the highest honours. This they considered to be noble on his part; and, accepting the

bright fortune offered them, they were either silent, or spoke only to flatter; notwithstanding which, they were sometimes assailed by ill humour; and, in the intimacy of the festive board it burst forth, and they then amused each other at the expence of the Parisian president. He knew and laughed at their sarcasms, for he did not fear them. In fine, literature was servile, the finances prosperous, the soldiery well disciplined, independence annihilated. A certain sentiment of an independent existence, however, began to be propagated from mind to mind, which, in time, might have produced fruit. Melzi, whose soul was wholly Italian, and who loved his country, carefully fostered these feelings, which, joined to the nobleness of his conduct, had great effect. These proceedings, however, were not agreeable to the president, and he therefore no longer held Melzi in the same favour as formerly.

In the meanwhile, works of singular magnificence arose. The Forum of Buonaparte, as it was called, occupied the place where the Castle of Milan had stood; and the design was admirable,

and had much of ancient Roman grandeur. The completion of the Cathedral, which had so long remained unfinished, was also undertaken, and the work was so vigorously prosecuted, that more was now done in a few years than had before been accomplished in as many centuries. Liberty had become impossible, but splendour was acquired. All these things, and the name of the Italian republic, singularly delighted the people of the Peninsula. Thus lived the Italians for a time, till new designs of Buonaparte brought on new dangers, and a change of fortune.

This name of the Italian republic, and the circumstance of Buonaparte being made its chief, gave umbrage to other powers, especially to Austria, whose vigilance was excited for her Italian possessions. The Emperor Alexander himself, who had already conceived some suspicions in consequence of the great authority the Consul had arrogated to himself in Switzerland, was still more alienated by the result of the conference at Lyons; and thus a rupture between France and Russia seemed imminent. The Consul, who was unwilling to be arrested half-way, endeavoured to

mitigate these discontents by publishing a manifesto, in which he laboured to show that, in retaining the Cisalpine republic, France had not appropriated too much to herself, nor even so much as the other potentates. He compared the present power of France with that she had possessed before the Revolution, affirming, that then she had commanded the states of the King of Sardinia, from the jealousy felt on account of the pretensions of Austria to Monferrat;—Venice, from the necessity which that state felt of a support against the ambition and near vicinity of the same power;—Naples, by her family compacts: but now Venice was subject to Austria, and the family compact was at an end. Hence Austria would have been mistress of Italy, had not France acquired fresh strength by the accession of the Italian republic. On the subject of Piedmont, he was silent, as if silence could conceal the act of possession. With regard to the rest of Europe, Poland was the prey of the greater powers, Turkey had no influence, Sweden was impotent. The acquisition of the four departments of the Rhine did not compensate for the re-partition of Poland. The

destruction of Tippoo Saib had already given great increase of power to England. The wishes of France were moderate: she had restored by treaty what she had conquered in war; but she would not, by consenting to weaken herself too much, derogate from her dignity, or diminish her accustomed power. Her only desire was to prevent the preponderance of any other power in Germany or Italy: she did not seek to exercise dominion over others, neither would she suffer others to dominate over her. Whoever would calmly consider the matter, must perceive that, by her new acquisitions, she had not gained new force, but had merely kept up her former strength.

The recent government of Genoa still savoured too strongly of democracy, and the Consul desired to set up there his usual ladder of aristocracy. They supplicated him to give them a constitution, to which he willingly consented. The governors joyfully announced the happy news to their fellow citizens: "They had attained the height of their desires. He who had given peace to Europe was about to give form to the republic. The ground-

work would acquire immortality from a hero. They had been excited to make this demand by patriotic feelings and patriotic examples; and from it they anticipated the happiest results. It had produced a constitution restoring religion, securing liberty. The government of the state was committed to the rich, the industrious, and the learned; the rights of the citizens were rendered secure; public wisdom would become the guardian of public prosperity. The Ligurians, inferior to no other Italian people in illustrious men, were bound to show that the seeds of their ancient virtue were still vital; and that, rivalling their ancestors, they were worthy supporters of a name bearing such a weight of honour." As to language and style, this proclamation was much more pure than the corrupted Cisalpine, Tuscan, and Neapolitan writings; and, as to its matter, was not without dignity. Thus Genoa, which had already given various other noble examples, now offered a model of purity of language. According to the new constitution, there was an Executive Senate, presided over by a doge, which consisted of thirty members, and formed five magistracies;—

the Supreme Council; the Council of Justice and Legislation; that of the Interior; of War and Maritime Affairs; and that of Finance. Its office was to present to a national council the laws to be enacted, and to execute them when approved. The doge was elected from a triple list presented by the colleges, and continued in office for six years. He presided over the senate and the supreme magistracy; represented the republic as to dignity and honours; held his residence in the national palace; and commanded the guard of the government. A delegate of the supreme magistracy assisted him in all his acts.

The Supreme Council was composed of the doge, with the presidents of the four other councils, and four other senators. To this tribunal, which was elected by the senate, appertained the execution of the laws and decrees, and the publication of such ordinances and edicts as it might deem necessary, all the other administrative bodies being held subordinate to it. It regulated foreign affairs; had the power of suspending, for six months, both the magistrates immediately dependent on it, and others, including the judges

of the criminal tribunal; executed measures of internal and external security; superintended the impartial distribution of justice; controuled the finances and ecclesiastical affairs; guarded the archives; took charge of the public schools; and commanded the army. This body represented in the new constitution what in the old government was called the petty council; and possessed, in fact, all the real power of the government. The office of the doge was, as of old, merely honorary; and against him was displayed the jealousy of the ancient aristocratical governments of Italy.

Such was the government of the Ligurian republic: how it would be administered remained to be seen. The Consul ordained three colleges—of proprietors, merchants, and scholars; from whom all power, political, civil, and administrative, was to flow as from a common source. Every two years these colleges elected a syndicate of seven members, who had the power of passing censure on two members of the senate, and two of every other council or tribunal; and whoever was thus censured lost his office. Each district

named a judicial council; and these latter elected the members of the National Consulta, which possessed the legislative authority.

On the 29th of June the new government entered on its functions in presence of Saliceti, Minister Plenipotentiary of France, who, as usual, delivered an artful oration, filled with theoretical maxims.

On being thanked by the senate, the Consul replied with professions of the love borne by France to Liguria, "which in every change of fortune had shown its attachment to that country. The protection of France would therefore shield it from every danger; past misfortunes and the rancour of civil contentions were to be alike forgotten. The constitution and the laws, and religion, were to be regarded with affection. They were to encourage their naval power, and to restore the ancient glory of the Ligurian name. Ever should he rejoice in the prosperity and grieve for the adversity of Genoa."

To this the usual spirit of adulation responded. The senate decreed that two statues of marble should be erected in the vestibule of the national

palace, one to Christopher Columbus, the discoverer of a new world, the other to Napoleon Buonaparte, the pacificator of the old, for having enlarged the confines of Liguria, guarded her interests, and remodelled her laws. The work was recommended to the zeal of the supreme magistracy, to the genius of rival artists, and the patriotism of every Ligurian citizen. Besides this, the inhabitants of Sarzana, acquiring greater warmth in the traffic of flattery, supplicated permission from the government to erect in their city a monument to the memory of the Buonaparte family, which, as they said, derived its origin from them. They alleged that "the Buonapartean race, for three centuries before the fifteenth, had been resident citizens of Sarzana. The family had been illustrious alike from its possessions, connexions, and offices. A daughter of that house had been the mother of Cardinal Philip, uterine brother of Pope Nicholas the Fifth, of illustrious memory." This petition was graciously heard, and Sarzana was willingly permitted to erect the proposed monument.

Whilst Menou continued his disorderly course

in Piedmont, the royal family of Sardinia wandered about Italy as exiles. The king, Charles Emanuel, devoted to religion, pursued by melancholy phantasms, and disgusted with the world by the misfortunes he had suffered, determined to abdicate his throne, and renouncing all worldly concerns, occupy himself solely in pious exercises, and the undisturbed care of his soul. This renunciation was performed without pomp or vain glory, and showed that if ambition is its own tormentor, moderation renders man happy in the most exalted, as well as in the most humble rank. The abdication of Charles Emanuel transferred his title to his brother, Victor Emanuel, then resident in the kingdom of Naples. The reign of Victor proved much less unquiet than had been expected from his well known love of arms. Notwithstanding this propensity, whilst every part of Europe was hastening on to ruin from the predominance of the military, he peaceably governed the island of Sardinia with a few soldiers: nor was there in this any mystery or art, as justice and lenity lent him strength, and insured his success.

The Consul, who had delayed the formal union of Piedmont with France, came at last to this resolution, not because Alexander granted his consent to it, but because he saw that a rupture with Russia was inevitable. His threats against the Germanic body, the military authority that he continued to arrogate to himself in the Papal states, in Tuscany and in the kingdom of Naples, his domination in Switzerland under the name of mediation, his presidency of the republics of Italy, the non-fulfilment of his promises of compensation to the King of Sardinia,—all had convinced Alexander that Buonaparte was more ready to take than to give. The latter also was aware that, amidst so many causes of discontent, the union of Piedmont to France would but increase his dissatisfaction, as to refrain in that one instance would not restore his friendship. This Senate therefore decreed, on the 11th of September, that the departments of the Po, the Dora, Marengo, the Sesia, the Stura, and the Tanaro, should be united to the territories of France. This union of Piedmont commenced the succession of similar appropriations of Italian

territories, which was of real utility to France, but the others were fantastical and capricious. This event gave rise to rejoicings in Piedmont, in which the nobles willingly joined, as they perceived from the court paid to them by the Consul and Menou, that the power which the intemperance of the democrats had for a time wrested from them, would now be restored; nor was the joy of the people less sincere, because they hoped that a legal government would put an end to the licentious domination of the Egyptian chief.

With the exception of the states of Venice, all Italy, from Piedmont to Naples, continued for a time under two governments, one real, the other nominal. In Piedmont, reigned Menou, rather than Buonaparte; in Parma, Buonaparte, rather than St. Mery; at Genoa, the Consul, not the Senate; in Rome, too, the Consul, rather than the Pope; in Tuscany, Murat, rather than Louis; in Naples, Napoleon, rather than Ferdinand. Harsh and arrogant was the style of dictation to all these governments. Menou alone did whatever he liked, and ruled according to his own pleasure. The Consul acceded to his wishes in

every thing; and if the Egyptian only hinted to him that those who complained of him were democrats, he instantly approved of his acts and praised them. Piedmont paid the wages of the terrible equivocations of Egypt. The rest obeyed; some from fear, some from ambition.

At this time Louis, King of Etruria, died of an acute fever, by which event his throne was transferred to the Infant of Spain, Charles Louis; but he being a minor, the regency devolved on the widowed Queen, Maria Louisa. Yet what power had accrued to the Infant may be seen by the orders published by Murat in Leghorn, at the time of his accession, giving up this city to the French troops he commanded, as if it had been in a state of siege. The Buonapartean general also sent troops to Piombino, and occupied the whole Tuscan shore, in order to prevent all communication with the English; he also arrested English visitors, seized such English ships as were in the ports, and impeded their commerce by his corsairs, who were sent against them from Leghorn. These proceedings were occasioned by the renewal of hostilities with Great

Britain after a short peace. In the midst of these acts of foreign insolence, Charles Louis commenced his reign, under the tutelage of his mother, in the month of August. The Florentine Senate, the magistrates and the deputies of the different cities, took the oaths. There were chariot races, emblematic designs, illuminations, fire-works, and the customary eulogistic poetry: they not only lauded Charles Louis, but also Murat and the Consul, calling them restorers of independence, gentle and just governors of the people.

Tuscany was much afflicted at this time by an universal and lamentable calamity. Towards the end of Autumn, 1804, a contagious disorder broke out in the fine city of Leghorn, occasioned, as it would seem, by the extreme heat of the summer, which, from the continuance of the south wind, was unusually hot and rainy. This disease was by some called the yellow fever, by others, the black vomit, and either name well described the strange symptoms which accompanied it. It began its ravages in the lowest, the dampest, and the dirtiest parts of the city, carry-

ing off its victims in seven, five, three, and sometimes in even the brief space of one day. It was most generally fatal on the fifth and seventh, and rarely lasted till the thirteenth or fourteenth day. To describe its progress would be difficult, as in different subjects it appeared in different forms; its victims suffering under the most various and intolerable tortures. Two symptoms, however, occurred in all cases: before and after death, the body, and more especially the bust, throat, and face, became yellow, and the stomach copiously threw up a certain black matter, resembling the dregs of coffee. A corrupted bile was diffused through the whole frame, even to the brain; and in every internal organ there was a greater or less tendency to putrefaction and mortification. The external skin was disfigured by small black points, or by large livid spots, especially wherever the body rested. The corrosive quality of the suffused bile was, in some cases, so great, as to occasion external and internal cancers; in others, the skin was excoriated, as if burned by fire. In the midst of these acute sufferings, as if he who was doomed to die ought clearly to foresee the

approach of death, the mind was preserved entire and unclouded till the moment of the last agony. This cruel disease was as fatal to the strong as to the weak, youths of robust constitutions passing from the most florid state of health to a miserable death in the space even of one day. This dreadful malady was frequently destructive of the vital principle even in those who survived the fever itself, and left behind it deplorable vestiges of its fury. The progress towards convalescence was tedious, sad, and painful. Some long remained in a state of stupefaction; some in a state of continual tremour; some, terrified by fearful phantasms, passed their days in melancholy, their nights in horror,—miserable signs that death had indeed been pressing closely on them. A strange and horrible corruption of the body often produced, besides the symptoms already related, the most unusual changes: some had a horror of water, as if bitten by a mad dog; in others, the vision was so perverted that they saw every object twofold, or in increased size; some were covered with boils full of corrosive humours; in some, streams of blood poured from the ears; in

others, the parotid glands were swelled to an extraordinary degree. The disorder raged most furiously in robust young men; it was most mild in the weak and the old, and in the female sex; yet, almost every pregnant woman attacked by it died. Very few children were attacked by it. Intemperance of every kind, especially drinking to excess wine and spirituous liquors, gluttony, and riot, rendered the disorder more certain and violent, and death more inevitable.

Various were the means resorted to by the physicians to subdue this lamentable disorder; but the simplest, as is generally the case, proved the best: calomel, jalap, and sudorifics were found useful; lemons, with small doses of tartar emetic were highly efficacious; warm fomentations of steeped mustard seed were serviceable, and nitrous acid, especially in weak constitutions, proved a powerful remedy. In some cases, too, the purple *digitalis* was of service. But a free current of fresh air, frequently renewed, proved the most powerful of all remedies, and its efficacy was so great, that by this means the virus even at a short distance was deprived of its baneful power.

On the other hand, it was seen that, when the air was impregnated with animal exhalations, the disease was quickly communicated, and its worst symptoms aggravated. It follows from this that the streets which were the worst ventilated and the filthiest, and the houses of the poor, were most miserably infected by the pestilence. On the contrary, the open streets and spacious cleanly houses, where the air was pure, were either free from the infection, or it there displayed itself in a milder form. Even in the places where it was most prevalent it seemed rather epidemic than contagious; attendants, physicians, relations, and priests who visited the sick, escaping the infection. In this particular, it differed much from other infectious fevers, especially the Egyptian plague, which diffused itself on every side, and affected those at a distance. This calamity did not extend itself beyond the city, although a great number of persons and a large quantity of goods were continually passing from street to street, and from the town to the country; neither did those who were about the sick communicate the disorder to others, unless they had previously taken it them-

selves; nor did the clothes of the healthy, or the furniture of the houses of the sick, transfer the infection. And thus money, notes, and merchandise were circulated within and without the city as usual. Habit by a wonderful and unknown property of the human frame fortified it by degrees against the infection. In fact, while so many of the lower order perished, only one of the ministers of religion and three of the physicians who attended them with ceaseless zeal, perished. The effect of pure air was shown in the hospital of St. Jacob, which is built almost on the verge of the sea shore, and which, being admirably constructed within, enjoys the benefit of a continual free current of air. The sick had scarcely crossed its threshold ere they began to revive; and, although they had before been languid, oppressed, and half subdued by the disorder, they soon passed from anguish to a state of tolerable comfort. The praiseworthy habits of the Tuscans proved the remedy of the malady, because, besides the purifying qualities of the air, that neatness in their houses and persons, which is so characteristic of the inhabitants of Tuscany, was favourable to

the sick, and the habits of the population were their best cure; nor in this season of misery were any guilty of the cruelty of deserting the infected, for the preservation of their own health. All received the necessary succours from the affection of relations, the kindness of friends, the piety of the clergy, or the providence of the government. The citizens of Leghorn were indebted for this either to a superior degree of civilization, or to the inspirations of Divine Grace.

From all that has been said, it appears that this fever differed much from those which physicians properly call contagious, as, for example, the Egyptian plague. How it was occasioned at Leghorn it would be impossible to decide; whether, as was commonly believed, the infection was brought there by a vessel from Vera Cruz, or whether, as seems more probable, it was engendered on the spot by the hot and rainy season, must remain a matter of doubt. The lamentable effects, however, of this loathsome and terrible disorder were but too certain; and it not only desolated Leghorn, but terrified the neighbouring cities, and kept Europe long in anxious

fears of being visited by the same calamity which had ravaged the provinces of America. These things I have endeavoured to relate with the greatest simplicity, because the unadorned truth is best adapted to make known the nature and the remedies of a disease which threatens to increase the sum of all those which already but too severely afflict suffering Europe.*

The ecclesiastical affairs of France had been regulated with the consent of the Pope, and it became necessary for the Consul to obtain his sanction for the recent arrangements in Italy, as Pius had loudly complained of the resolutions which had recently been passed, not only without his consent having been obtained, but without its having even been asked. The Consul had powerful reasons for wishing to gratify the Pope, and therefore, after some discussions at Paris between Car-

* The original gives every symptom of the disease in its various stages, but as the detail is somewhat disgusting, the translator has given only the general outlines of the frightful picture. Medical men are not likely to study their profession in history, and to the taste of other readers the "whole unadorned truth" would be offensive.—*Tr.*

dinal Caprara, Legate of the Holy See, and Ferdinand Marescalchi, Minister for Foreign Affairs to the Italian Republic, a concordat was concluded on the 16th of September, in the name of the Pontiff and that of the President; the substance of which was in all respects similar to the concordat of France. But the Vice-President Melzi, who had imbibed the doctrines of the school of Leopold, amplified the articles in favour of the secular power. He decreed that the privilege of bestowing the religious habit and receiving religious vows should be confined to the orders, convents, colleges, and monasteries, which were dedicated to the instruction and education of youth, and to the care of the sick, or other similar offices of peculiar and public utility. Every individual, desirous of taking holy orders, or assuming the monastic habit, must, in the first instance, obtain the permission of the government. The free communications of the bishops with the Holy See should not extend to the exposition of cases to be tried by the tribunals, nor affect any circumstances where the spiritual was connected with the particular jurisdiction of the

temporal authority. The bulls, briefs, or rescripts of the court of Rome were not to be put in practice for any purpose of exterior discipline, nor published without the consent of the government. Priests, candidates for holy orders, the clergy of the episcopal schools, novices, or those who had taken the vows in the religious orders, were alone to be exempted from military service. The government refused to lend its aid for the infliction of temporal penalties commanded by the ecclesiastical authority, for the correction of clerical delinquents, or to receive appeals from the ecclesiastical courts, except in cases of manifest abuse, observing accurately the limits and the modes of their respective jurisdictions; and, finally, the vigorous discipline of the church in its actual state was to be exercised, saving the rights of guardianship and political jurisdiction. These were wise, salutary, and necessary guarantees for the preservation of the secular authority; for the Catholic religion has, more than any other, the power of influencing through its ministers (who are but men) the resolutions of the rulers of nations; and, therefore, the latter are

bound to take effectual precautions against it, in order to secure liberty and the rights of the temporal power. But the Pontiff resented it seriously, and complained bitterly to the President: while the latter temporized in his replies; and, wrapping himself up in his usual ambiguities, he neither gave nor forbade the expectation of alteration. In the mean time, although the Italian concordat, and, above all, the decree of the Vice-President, was more acceptable to those who favoured the doctrines of the Bishop of Pistoja, and the reform of Leopold, than to the Papists; they served, notwithstanding, to tranquillize the intimidated consciences of the people, who, having always adhered to the Catholic faith and revered the Pope, beheld with uneasiness the dissensions with Rome, and rejoiced at the restoration of harmony. The magistrates, the priests, the philosophers, the soldiers, and the people, all proclaimed the President matchless. Nothing was spoken of but him; his name and actions engrossed the minds of men, to the exclusion of all other names and all other subjects of interest.

But now the bilustral intrigues of the Consul approached their fulfilment. Glorious in war, glorious in peace, no other name of ancient or modern times appeared in the eyes of his dazzled contemporaries equal to his. His marvellous exploits in Italy, before and after his Egyptian labours, were still repeated from mouth to mouth, and were fresh in the minds of all. They recollected that he had suddenly raised the humbled fortunes of the republic to the highest rank of glory and of power; without him it had fallen, by him it had been resuscitated. "Monsters had prevailed when he was afar off; but, like a second Hercules, his presence had subdued them. In his absence, war had followed peace—his presence had displaced discord by tranquillity; nor with Austria alone had he procured concord, but also with Russia, England, Turkey, Portugal, with the Duke of Wirtemberg, and with the Prince of Orange. Barbarians themselves had negociated with him for the benefit of France; Algiers and Tunis had returned to their ancient friendship; nor were the subjects of France any longer saddened by the sight of African cruelty.

French ships could freely and securely pursue their traffic in the Mediterranean, and the ensigns of the republic were no longer insulted by lawless robbers. He alone had extinguished civil discord—had given a country to the exiled—had restored honours to Pius the Sixth, and had given repose to his sacred remains. The concordat entered into by him with Pius the Seventh had given peace and safety to conscience—protection to morals; and by him the generosity and fidelity of France towards the Holy See had been enabled once more to display itself; he had averted the thunders of the Vatican from France; he had reconciled her to herself, and to all Christendom:—so much for religion and politics. To him the finances owed their abundance; the magistrates and soldiers their exact payments; while new-made roads, repaired canals, and security at sea, entitled him to the gratitude of the traveller and the merchant. Every thing had returned to its ancient splendour.—Palaces, dilapidated by time, or defaced by the rage of man, were repaired, and new edifices erected. France, beautiful by nature, was becoming more beautiful by

art. Ruins, the detestable signs of past discord, had disappeared; and massive piles, magnificent tokens of a generous government, arose in their stead.

"Such were the fruits of peace; such of concord. The revolution was at an end, and the storehouse of innumerable miseries was closed. It was true that peace had again been broken by ambitious and faithless Britain: yet avenging hosts were already assembling on the shores of the ocean—the conquering fleets were already preparing. London itself would prove an insecure asylum to the corsairs who ruled the seas. It would quickly be seen how much the power of France and the fortune of the Consul could effect for the benefit of humanity against those avaricious and arrogant tyrants. Russia, it was true, induced by the artifices and promises of England, shewed a menacing aspect; but Alexander was far from inclined to yield to their proffers or their arts: neither anger nor misunderstanding could long subsist between those who were well-intentioned. Thus the Consul had given to France secure peace, and oppor-

tunity of victory. For so many important services, no reward could be found too great, or even equivalent."

Such was the language that was spoken;—what was written was still more forcible. The Consul, not shuddering at the iniquitous project of reducing to servitude a nation which overflowed with such devoted love for him, thought he had arrived at the time for accomplishing his designs; having, therefore, gained the royalists by restoring their country to them, the soldiers by gifts, the priests by the concordat, the magistrates by honours, the people by plenty, he hastened to appropriate to himself the name of that of which he already possessed the substance, adding in this manner supreme title to supreme power. It only remained to gain over the republicans to his party: this was done by the murder of the Duke D'Enghien. The first proposal was made by the Tribunate; the Senate did not delay to follow it up, partly from fear, partly from ambition. The 18th of May saluted Napoleon Buonaparte as Emperor of the French.

This act, although not unexpected, filled the

world with astonishment. The foolish royalists now perceived that Buonaparte was not, as they had expected, the man to act the part of Monk; the silly republicans found that he was not one who would become, as they had promised themselves, a Cincinnatus. The folly of the latter was the most inexcusable, because, without even noticing his other proceedings, his having said in the Council of Five Hundred on the 9th of November, 1799, that monarchy could no longer overcome republicanism in Europe, ought to have made them aware that it was his desire to subdue republicanism to royalty. However, as it was an age in which interested motives were all-powerful, and conscience, as Buonaparte well knew, powerless, the royalists quickly forgot the monarchy, republicans the republic, and both the one and the other eagerly caught at the Imperial bribes. Few of either party remained;—those few were termed fools. Of the European powers, England alone, who had never been deceived as to the disposition of Buonaparte, continued to oppose him, but in vain; the deceived but distant Alexander also opposed him;

Turkey, from fear of Russia, hesitated; defeated Austria was silent. Prussia, uniformly misled by her rivalship of Austria, not only consented to, but encouraged, his plans. This had been one of the principal incitements to the daring of Napoleon. The first abettor of his schemes had been the Marquis Lucchesini, the Minister of Frederick at Paris. Louis the Eighteenth, who, until this time, perhaps from the hopes he had formed, had written and spoken of Buonaparte with more moderation than of the other governors of France, on this extreme act of assumption, by which every expectation of ultimate advantage to himself was taken away, resenting it deeply, solemnly protested against the usurpation, from his northern exile. Piedmont was consoled for the loss of her independence by an union with the power which predominated; deluded Genoa hoped to preserve at least her ancient name; the Italian republic, since liberty was lost, promised herself power; Tuscany, judging, better than the rest, of the circumstances of the times, knew not what to fear nor what to hope, and bitterly lamented that the age of

Leopold had for ever passed away; while Naples, already enslaved on the main land, remained in doubt of being able to preserve the island kingdom of Sicily. The Pope was terrified by the greatness of Napoleon's power, but the latter soothed his fears by his promises—by flattery, and still more by the services he required of him: because, although he returned to ancient usages, he had no legitimate title; nor would he, on the other hand, admit the doctrine of the sovereignty of the people, because, if he did admit it, he must confess that those who elected could depose; and he did not choose to run this risk; with earnest requests, therefore, not unmixed with threats, he besought the Pope to come to Paris to consecrate him. He believed, that consecration by his Holiness would give him influence over the opinions of those whom other motives had not already ranged on his side. It was certainly an important circumstance that the head of the church, in his declining years—in an unfavourable season, should repair to a distant and foreign land, to legitimatize, by his sacred authority, him, whom every prince in Europe, either secretly or openly,

called an usurper." To induce the Pope to take this resolution, Napoleon insinuated to him that, if he had already done much for the Catholic religion, he would do much more if the Pope would consent to consecrate him. This request gave Pius great uneasiness; because if, on one hand, he was anxious to satisfy Napoleon, hoping to render this act profitable to the church; he felt, on the other, that to confirm by the efficacy of his office the effects of military power, was both painful and dishonourable.

His doubts were increased by the remonstrances of Louis the Eighteenth, the Emperors of Germany and Russia, and even of the King of England himself, who all, more or less openly, exhorted him not to offend the majesty of the throne, and the principles on which every modern sovereignty was founded, by an act so alarming to the monarchs of Europe.

"He ought not," they said, "to abandon his ancient friends, and commit himself to the faith of his new ally; he ought not to authorize military violence, nor give his sanction to the ruin of Europe. He should remember that the reign

of violence was fugitive, bringing ruin on itself by its excesses; he should consider that, when this storm should disperse, he would require the aid of his ancient protectors. It was now no longer necessary to treat for the salvation of religion already secure, but to save the ancient thrones. The election was now to be made of legitimacy or usurpation, moderation or tyranny, law or military sway, civilization or barbarism. Finally, they represented to him how unworthy it would be of the Roman Pontiff, the head of the Christian church, to leave his own dominions in order to sanctify the supreme dignity in one who had employed religion as a means of fraud, promises to deceive, force to subvert. Italy was enslaved, Germany paralysed by fear, France subjugated; and, when he considered their state, he would perceive that it was not lawful for him to contaminate his apostolical dignity by sanctifying that which every law, divine and human, had condemned."

The Pope was much affected by these exhortations; and, as his mind was intent on the promotion of religion, it did not escape his notice

that the adverse party in France was very powerful in proportion to the short time which had elapsed since the restoration of Catholicism; and the Emperor Napoleon being so prompt and so arbitrary in all his resolutions, there was more danger to be apprehended in that quarter, if he should refuse Napoleon, than in Austria, or the other Catholic countries of Germany, if he should not conform to the wishes of the Emperor Francis. As for Spain, she was, from the devotion of the Prince of Peace to Buonaparte, rather the subject than the equal of France; and the Pope knew that a decision in his favour would be highly pleasing to the Spanish Court.

On the other side, the ruler of France was so affectionate, so flattering in his demeanour towards the Holy See, that the Pope hoped, not only to keep him within bounds, but to guide his conduct as he pleased. Above all things, he hoped to be able to procure some advantageous modification in the organic articles annexed by Napoleon to the concordat of France, and by Melzi to that of Italy. He desired and hoped, moreover, to be able to induce Napoleon to grant greater latitude

in the celebration of the exterior ceremonies of Catholicism; for Napoleon understood public worship in one way, and Pius in another. He did not in the least doubt that his presence in France would act beneficially in making religion better known and better loved. He also found it difficult to persuade himself that an act, accompanied by such long and severe fatigue, marked by such great condescension in an affair of so much consequence to Napoleon, could fail to inspire in his heart, all soldier as he was, milder dispositions towards, and greater docility to, the See of Rome.

Having well and maturely considered these things—having several times debated them with the cardinals—having implored also the Divine aid, to which he piously referred every event, prosperous or adverse, he determined upon performing an act which had not been witnessed for many centuries. Resolving therefore to prefer the advantage of religion to every mundane consideration, he convened the cardinals on the 29th of November, and addressed them in these solemn and affectionate words:—

"From this same seat, venerable brothers, we

formerly announced to you, how the concordat with Napoleon, Emperor of the French, then First Consul, had been by us concluded. Here also we participated with you the contentment which filled our hearts on beholding, by means of the said concordat, the return of those vast and populous regions to the Catholic religion. From that time forth, the temples that had been profaned have been re-opened and purified—the altars once more erected—the saving cross exalted—the worship of the true God restored—the august mysteries of religion freely and publicly celebrated—the legitimate pastors restored to feed their famished flock—innumerable souls recalled from the paths of error to the bosom of eternal felicity, and reconciled both to themselves and to the true God. In the midst of a renowned nation, the Catholic religion was raised from the obscurity into which it had been plunged, to the full light of day. At such great benefits we exulted with joy, and, in the inmost recesses of our heart, offered up our thanksgivings to God our Lord. This great and marvellous work not only filled us with gratitude towards that potent prince who had used all his

power and all his authority to accomplish the concordat, but further excited us, by the impulse of grateful remembrance, to use every opportunity which might occur, to prove to him that such were our feelings towards him. Now, this same potent prince, our most beloved son in Christ, Napoleon, Emperor of the French, who by his deeds has so well merited the favour of the Catholic religion, has signified to us his ardent desire to be anointed with the holy oil, and from our hands to receive the Imperial crown;' that thus the sacred rights which place him in so exalted a rank, may be marked with the impress of religion, and may more powerfully draw down on him the celestial benediction. A request of this nature not only clearly evinces his religious feeling and his filial reverence towards the Holy See, but, being accompanied by express demonstrations and promises, gives hopes that the holy faith will be promoted, and its grievous injuries repaired—a work which he has already forwarded with such zeal and such labour in those flourishing regions.

"You see, therefore, venerable brethren, how

just and serious are the considerations which excite us to undertake this journey. We are moved by the interests of our holy religion—we are moved by gratitude to this potent Emperor—we are moved by love towards him who has procured for the Catholic religion free and public exercise of its rights in France—we are moved by the desire he demonstrates of advancing it to still greater honour and dignity. We hope, moreover, that when we shall have arrived in his presence, and can discourse with him face to face, we shall obtain such things from him in favour of the Catholic church—sole keeper of the ark of salvation, that we shall justly have to congratulate ourselves on having brought to perfection the work of our most holy religion. Nor is it from our own feeble words that we conceive such hopes, but from the grace of Him whose vicar, although unworthily, we are on earth,—by the grace of Him who, being invoked by the force of our sacred rites, descends into the well-disposed hearts of princes, especially when they show themselves to be the fathers of their people—especially when they seek their eternal salvation—

especially when they desire to live and to die true and good sons of the Catholic church. For all these reasons, venerable brethren, and following the example of some of our predecessors, who, leaving their proper seat, visited foreign regions for the promotion of religion, and for the gratification of princes who had merited well of the church, we have resolved to perform the present journey, although we might have been deterred from such an undertaking by the severity of the season, by our weight of years, and our infirm health. But it may not be that such considerations should shake our purpose; and may God graciously favour our desires. Neither have we undertaken this matter without attentively considering it on every side. For a time we were in doubt and perplexity; but the Emperor met our wishes with such assurances, that we were by them convinced that our journey would turn to the advantage of religion. You know that on this we have sought your counsel; but, not neglecting that which excels all else, and well knowing, according to the saying of Divine Wisdom, that the resolutions of mortals, even of

those most renowned for doctrine and for piety—of those, moreover, whose words mount like incense to the presence of God, are weak, timid, and uncertain, our fervent prayers have been raised to the Father of all Wisdom, earnestly beseeching him that we might be enabled to perform that only which might be pleasing to him—that alone which might conduce to the prosperity and increase of his church. God! whom, with humble heart, we have so often supplicated—in whose sacred temples we have raised our suppliant hands—from whom in such deep necessity we have implored a gracious hearing and propitious aid, will bear us witness, that no other wishes have we formed—nothing intended, except for the promotion of the glory and the interests of the Catholic religion, the salvation of souls, and the due fulfilment of the apostolic office committed to ourselves, although undeservedly; in which sincerity be ye, venerable brethren, to whom we have declared every thing, our witnesses. When, therefore, a matter of such importance is pending, with the assistance of Divine Grace, labouring as the Vicar of God our Saviour,

we will undertake this journey, to which so many and such cogent reasons excite us.

"The God of all grace will, we trust, bless our steps, and, in this new epoch of religion, will manifest himself with increased glory. After the example of Pius the Sixth, of venerated memory, when he went to Vienna, in Austria, we have, venerable brethren, ordained that the courts and audiences shall be held as usual. And as the necessity of *dying* is certain, the day uncertain, we have so ordained, that if, during our journey, God should please to take us to himself, the Pontifical Comitiæ may be held. In fine, we request from you, with earnest prayers, that you will ever preserve towards us that same love which you have ever till now demonstrated, and that, when we are absent, you will recommend our soul to God, to Jesus Christ our Lord, to his most glorious Virgin Mother, and to the blessed apostle Peter, that this our journey may be happy in its course, and prosperous in its end; and if, as we hope, we shall obtain this from the Fountain of all good, you, venerable brothers, who have ever been participators in all our coun-

cils and in all our cares, will also participate in the common joy, and we will rejoice together, exulting in the mercy of the Lord."

When the Pope reached the territories of France, in consequence of the orders of the Emperor, and still more owing to the piety of the faithful, he was every where received with reverence. The Parisians, who believed neither in the Pope, nor in religion, flocked in crowds to his presence, partly from fashion, partly from idleness, or flattery, to express to him by words sentiments of respect. He crowned Napoleon on the second of December; the Emperor made him wait in the church of Notre Dame an hour before he arrived there. When the Pope turned to meet him, the pious spectators wished to applaud the venerable old man; but they were prevented by Napoleon with imperious and decided gestures; and when the crowned and consecrated Napoleon quitted the church, Pius was left like one of the vulgar, unnoticed, and crowded amidst the immense concourse of the assembled people—sad presage of what was yet to come. The newly consecrated Emperor delivered with so-

lemnity, in the Champ de Mars, the Imperial eagles to his soldiers. The ancient ensigns of the republic, which had seen the Rhenish, the Italian, the Egyptian victories, were left in the mire, which that day was very deep: so completely were the soldiers of all become the soldiers of one alone! To despise glory was a sign that liberty would not be respected.

The magistrates and the chiefs of the army went to pay their homage to their crowned sovereign; and Ceroni, his ancient comrade, finding him no longer so spare of body as he had been, congratulated him on his excellent health. "Yes," replied the new *Sire*, "now indeed I do find myself very well."

CHAPTER IV.

Buonaparte, having made himself Emperor of France, resolves to give himself the title of King of Italy.—The Italians present themselves before him, at Paris, and gratify this wish.—Repairs to Milan to be crowned.—Constitution of Genoa changed, and the territory united to France.—Fêtes given by the Genoese to the Emperor and King.—Submission of Scipio Ricci, bishop of Pistoja, to the Pope.—His reception by the Pope at Florence.—Artful insinuations of the Jesuits to the princes of Europe; their restoration in the kingdom of Naples.—War between France on one side, and Russia and Austria on the other.—Its causes.—Massena, Generalissimo of France.—The Archduke Charles, of Austria, in Italy.—Battle of Caldiera.—Brilliant victories of Napoleon, in Germany.—The Archduke retires from Italy.—Peace of Presburg.—Napoleon deprives Ferdinand of Naples of his kingdom.—Reasons of this step.—Joseph, brother of Napoleon, king of Naples.—Bloodshed in Calabria.—Battle of Maida between the French and English.—Affair of the mouths of the Cattaro.—Ferocity of the war in Dalmatia.—Dalmatia and Ragusa united to the kingdom of Italy.

NAPOLEON, constant only in ambition, was by nature restless and inconsistent. He never, therefore, long adhered to the same plan, but was always

changing his ground to gain a greater elevation. The Italian constitution, as it had been decreed at Lyons, bore the appearance of durability, and, according to the magnificent speeches solemnly delivered by him and by Melzi at that time, was then intended to last for ever: yet two years had not elapsed, ere it was stigmatized as defective, insufficient, and incapable of producing any lasting good. Napoleon had made himself Emperor: he now chose to be King also. It was not without design that the representatives of the Italian republic had been invited to Paris to witness the Imperial coronation and consequent festivities. Melzi, the Vice President; the Counsellors of State, Marescalchi, Caprara, Paradisi, Fenaroli, Costabili, Luosi, Guicciardi; the deputies of the colleges, and of the magistracies, Guastavillani, Lambertenghi, Carlotti, Dambuschi, Mangone, Galeppi, Litta, Fe, Alessandri, Salimbeni, Appiani, Busti, Negri, Sopransi, and Valdrighi, were all present on that occasion. The Emperor made them understand that it behoved them to give him the title of King, and to condemn the constitution of Lyons. This wish they willingly

complied with, for the simplest sign from Napoleon, much more a command, sufficed to effect the most important events. Melzi, whom certainly nature had never formed for such degradation, presented himself on the 17th of March, with the other deputies, before the throne of Napoleon, in the palace of the Tuilleries, and thus addressed him in a speech servile both in thought and in language.

" Sire, you have commanded the Council of State and the deputies of the Italian Republic to assemble, in order to consider of that which is of vital importance to its present and its future destinies—the form of its government. I present myself before you, Sire, to exercise the honourable office of informing you what she has done and what she desires. First, the National Assembly, having duly considered existing circumstances, is convinced that our actual form of government is too little accordant to the exigencies of the age to be longer practicable. The constitution of Lyons was marked by all the signs of provisionary arrangements, because, adapted for circumstances that were in themselves but temporary, it had

not in itself any strength from which prudent men could anticipate its durability and conservation. Not only reason, but the evidence of facts urgently constrained us to a change. This truth being conceded and acknowledged, for truth it is, the course to be followed becomes simple and plain. The progress of knowledge, the dictates of experience, point out to us a constitutional monarchy, whilst gratitude, love, and confidence, indicate the monarch. You, Sire, twice conquered, you created, you organized, and you to this day have governed the Italian Republic. There every thing recalls to memory your achievements, your genius, your beneficent acts. Only one desire could exist amongst us, only one could animate us. We have not neglected to consider maturely the ulterior objects your profound wisdom before indicated; but, however your noble and generous intentions may accord with our most cherished hopes as to a distant future, we are thoroughly persuaded that our situation is not as yet matured, so as to reach that elevated point which you design for us—political independence. The Italian Republic must yet—for such is the natural

order of things—for a time display the weakness incident to a newly-created state. The first cloud, however light, which should obscure the air, would to her be the cause of anxiety and fear. But where, Sire, can she find greater security, better founded hopes of happiness, than in you, who are still a necessary part of herself? By your pre-eminent wisdom only does she exist; that only can prescribe the time when her dependence shall cease, menaced as she is by foreign jealousy and internal dissensions. Being affectionately interrogated, we reply sincerely: this then is the wish we declare to you—this the prayer we prefer to you, that it may please you to give us that constitution in which those principles may be put in action and confirmed which you have promulgated, which immutable reason demands, and which are necessary to the peace of nations. Be it then, Sire, your good pleasure to fulfil the prayers and desires of the Italian Republic. This request all, by my voice, earnestly beseech and conjure you to grant. If you will graciously hear our petition, we will tell the Italians that you consent to be bound by a still

stronger tie to the defence and prosperity of the nation. Thus, Sire, you willed that the Italian Republic should be, and she was—Decree now that the Italian Monarchy may be blessed, and it will be so."

The oration being ended, Melzi advanced and read the act of the Italian Council. The government was to be monarchical and hereditary; Napoleon was declared the first King of Italy; the two crowns of France and Italy were to be united in him alone, and not in his successors and descendants. As long as the French armies should occupy Naples, the Russians Corfu, or the English Malta, the two crowns were not to be separated. Napoleon was intreated to visit Milan to receive the crown, and arrange the laws definitively.

Napoleon's reply was delivered in a loud tone (but with his usual hoarse voice); "he had," he said, "always intended to make the Italian nation free and independent. On the banks of the Nile he had heard of the misfortunes of Italy: thanks to the invincible courage of his soldiers, he had appeared at Milan when his Italian

people believed him yet on the shores of the Red Sea;—whilst yet distained with blood, whilst yet covered with dust, his first care had been for Italy. The Italians now called upon him to be their King; their King he would consent to be: he would consent to keep their crown, but only as long as their own interests should require it: when the expedient time should arrive, he would willingly transfer it to a youthful scion, who should have as much at heart as himself the security and prosperity of the Italian people." Nor was this all he intimated on the subject.

On the following day the Emperor entered the Senate. Talleyrand, whose ambidexter eloquence was able to prove this and many other things besides, now proved that, for the moment, the union of the kingdom of Italy to that of France was a necessary measure. The act of acceptance was read; and Napoleon then spoke, selecting terms of feigned moderation and forbearance—"Senators," he said, "we have commanded this assembly that we might declare our whole mind to you on subjects of the greatest importance to the state. The empire of France is strong and potent, but greater still is our moderation. Hol-

land, Switzerland, all Italy, and almost all Germany, we have conquered; but, amidst such great prosperity, we have preserved only a just ratio with other Powers. Of so many conquered provinces, we have retained only those which are necessary to maintain us in that relative rank in which France has always been placed. The partition of Poland, the provinces wrested from Turkey, the conquest of India, and of almost all the colonies, have caused the opposite scale to preponderate considerably against us. The useless we have resigned, the necessary retained; nor have we ever been excited to take up arms by the love of conquest, or by vain projects of greatness. A great increase would have accrued to our resources from the incorporation of the territory of the Italian Republic: notwithstanding which, after the second conquest, we confirmed its independence at Lyons, and to-day, proceeding yet further, we have established the fundamental principle of the separation of the two crowns; which separation we only delay, and have assigned, as its season, the period when it may be effected without danger to our people of Italy. We have accepted, and we have encircled our brows

with the ancient crown of Lombardy. This we will temper—this we will exalt—this we will defend against every attack, until the Mediterranean shall be restored to its wonted condition; and this primary Italian statute we will maintain whole and intact to the utmost of our power."

The Emperor created Eugene Beauharnois, the son of the Empress Josephine, a prince, adopted him as his own son, and appointed him Viceroy of Italy, while Melzi was appointed Keeper of the Seals. Sunday, the 26th of May, was fixed for the assumption of the regal crown at Milan. Napoleon set out with an immense suite of courtiers, resolving to make his progress remarkable by a degree of splendour far exceeding regal pomp. Rejoicings and honours awaited him every where through France; and, on the 20th of April he arrived at Stupinigi, a small but delightful villa of the sovereigns of Sardinia, situated at a short distance from Turin: here the magistrates assembled to pay their homage. In his presence, Menou showed the deepest humility. To some Napoleon spoke graciously—to others haughtily, according to the secret whispers

of the Egyptianized chief. He harshly reproved the Archbishop Buronzo, reproaching him with being entirely devoted to the King of Sardinia. He deprived Pico, President of the Tribunal, of his office, and at one moment even threatened his life, accusing him of having betrayed him in the Venetian affair. In fine, he broke out into violent expressions of rage against the jacobins, calling them scoundrels, especially those who had served him. To this he was chiefly stimulated by Menou, who spoke as if he himself had never been a jacobin. The new sire added, that he would make them act uprightly; and whoever had not done so, should have to reckon with him. These things he said and did in such a plebeian style, that every one perceived that, if he possessed power, he was devoid of dignity, and still but a novice in his new part of Emperor. The Milanese deputies came also to Stupinigi, to render their homage, calling him their king, their regenerator, their father. To them he replied affably; saying, he considered them as his children, and exhorting them to lead a life of virtue and activity—to love their country, and to

promote order. As usual, he inveighed against the jacobins, believing that he should thus flatter kings. He concluded with threats, saying, that if any one looked on the kingdom of Italy with a jealous eye, he possessed a good sword to destroy all his enemies; which was certainly true. The good Milanese were all aghast at these violent expressions, and argued from thence, that their life of ease and abundance drew near to its close. Having visited Moncalieri, he ran over the hill of Turin, and, having examined the Superga, entered the regal city in triumph. He inhabited the royal palace, which Count Salmatoris had with much care and diligence prepared for his reception. The Piedmontese ran in crowds to witness the unusual sight. They wondered not at the fact itself, for they had witnessed many such changes of fortune, but at the pompous pride which was displayed. At this conjuncture, Pius the Seventh arrived at Turin, on his return from France. He was lodged in the palace with Napoleon; they remained many hours closetted together. Pius hoped; Napoleon flattered:—in public, they made a display of strict union. The Emperor exulted

in this; for he knew what effect the friendship of a pope has on popular opinion. He visited the public curiosities, speaking with incredible self-possession, as well of what he did not know, as of what he did; but, whatever he said, whether it were right or wrong, was uniformly applauded. He spoke fluently of music, of medicine, of legislation, of painting. He desired to see the picture of Olympia, painted by Revelli, an artist of note; and praised the work, but pointed out some faults, on which every one acted astonishment at the extent of his knowledge. The Pope, after having been courted by every one, even by Abdallah Menou,* departed by the road of Parma. Military shows next succeeded to discourses on the arts of civil life. Napoleon desired to visit the glorious field of Marengo, and to make it the scene of a mock-fight. A triumphal arch, erected at the gate of Alexandria, leading to Marengo, was adorned with emblems of the Italian, Ger-

* The reader will recollect that Menou embraced the Moslem faith virtually in Egypt. Buonaparte called himself a Mahometan; but Menou went through all the ceremonies of a proselyte.

manic, and Egyptian victories. On the field of battle the Imperial throne was raised. Napoleon appeared in a splendid carriage, drawn by eight horses. He knew not how much greater he would have been, if, in this same place, he had appeared with the modesty of a simple soldier. But his vanity tarnished his glory. The soldiers, who well remembered the labours of this field of Marengo, were drawn up in troops,—French, Italians, Mamelukes, infantry, and cavalry: they were joined by the national guards, all in uniform, and in noble order. The Milanese guard of honour, who came to Marengo in compliment to their new lord, made a magnificent appearance. He was attended by the officers of the court—by chamberlains, ladies, pages, and general officers, in the richest dresses. The sun, throned in a serene sky, shone resplendently: its dazzling rays, reflected and multiplied a thousandfold by such a profusion of gold, of silver, and of burnished steel, formed a spectacle of extraordinary brilliancy. An innumerable multitude of people had assembled. The plain of Alexandria resounded with festive shouts, with the neighing of

the war horse, with exciting music. The vain-glorious Napoleon, having reached the throne, and placed the Empress on it, descended from the Imperial car, and, mounting on horseback, rode through the ranks of the soldiers. The shouts, the applauses, the sounds of all description, now burst forth more strong and more frequent, and absolutely deafened the air. The review being ended, he also seated himself on the throne, when every eye of the whole multitude was turned towards him, and all, with loud acclamation, hailed him as Emperor, or as conqueror of Marengo. The mock-fight then commenced, conducted by Lannes, who, in consequence of the new Imperial ordinances, had been created a Marshal. This fête lasted from ten in the morning till six in the evening, and afforded extreme delight to Napoleon; who, as soon as it was ended, bestowed the insignia of the Legion of Honour on several soldiers and magistrates—a new allurement, which he had recently created for the promotion of his designs; for he was one who thoroughly-well understood the republicans of his times. Then, descending from his throne, he

laid the first stone of a column, in memory of the battle of Marengo; and here terminated the vain pageantry. On the 6th of May, Napoleon arrived, with all the grandeur of the court, at Mezzana Corte, on the banks of the Po, when he crossed the river, on a vessel fitted up as a kind of temporary bucentaur, and thus entered the territory of his Italian kingdom amidst the acclamations of the populace who stood shouting with joy on the opposite banks of the river. He was received with pompous solemnity, and lauded in turn by the Prefect Olonna, by Melzi, the keeper of the seals, and by Marshal Jourdan, who commanded the French soldiers stationed in the Italian kingdom; but he replied coldly at a moment in which, above all others, his heart should have opened itself, and have poured forth from all its veins streams of affection.

Arrived at Pavia, he took up his abode in the palace of the Marquis Botta, designing to convert it to the uses of an Imperial residence, whether the Marquis, who in truth little desired to be so honoured, were willing or not. The guards of honour, the processions of students in colle-

giate robes, the crowds of the populace, the tapestry hangings, the scattered flowers, the illuminations, the incessant plaudits, testified the joy the Pavians felt at the presence of him who had cruelly and avariciously delivered them over to pillage. He willingly received the university, which thus eulogised him through the rector and clerical professors.—"Twice by victory, Sire, have you secured the destiny of Italy; and twice, amidst the labours of war, have you generously put forth your hand in aid of banished and injured science. Then it was that this temple, sacred to knowledge, was by you restored to its ancient splendour;—then were we called, under the shadow of your protecting shield, to the honoured ministry of its sacred rights; we were then penetrated with profound gratitude. The French people have placed on your head the imperial crown; and the Italians prepare for you that of their ancient kings. They offered, and you accepted it; and your brow, the seat of exalted thoughts, will be adorned with a double diadem. This is the instant in which a free course is opened to our gratitude and in which

we are enabled to lay at your feet the solemn homage of our common exultation. We entreat you, whom the pacific not less than the warlike virtues surround, to lend a gracious ear to our respectful expressions, and to deign to be to us a father and a tutelary deity. Posterity shall learn from your example that the genius of arms, united to that of the sciences, secures the happiness of nations. Come, then, amongst us, beneficent and magnanimous hero. Through your means, the fountains of knowledge shall more abundantly flow. Already, Italy, the illustrious country of the Virgils, the Galileos, the Raphaels, feels her hopes expand under your potent auspices. Heaven has formed you for what is great; and, since it gives you every thing, may it also give you a serene length of days, that you may complete the labours of your beneficence, and the exalted destinies you have prepared for us." I have recorded this eulogistic discourse of the university of Pavia, because, although not entirely correct, nevertheless, in comparison of the corrupt and crude Italian writings of that period, it was

pure and clear in language, and the style not ill-adapted to the subject.

The solemn entry of Napoleon into Milan was magnificent: he entered the city by the gate of Ticino, which had been called the Gate of Marengo. The Municipality presented him with the keys on a basin of gold. "These," they said, "were the keys of the faithful Milan; the hearts of its people he had long possessed." In reply, he requested them to retain the keys, saying that "he confided in the affection of the Milanese, and that they might confide in the assurance of his." This ceremony over, an immense concourse of people, rending the air with shouts of joy, followed him to the cathedral, where Cardinal Caprara, the archbishop, met him on the threshold, and there vowed respect, fidelity, obedience, and submission; prayed for the preservation of so great a sovereign, and besought St. Ambrose and St. Charles, the glorious protectors of the superb city, to bestow on him and all his family perfect health and perennial joy. The ceremonies in the cathedral being ended, the

Ducal palace, ornamented for a festival, and, proud of the honour bestowed on it, received the new king.

As it was generally known that Napoleon had gone to Milan to assume the crown, deputations from the Italian cities and from foreign states were sent thither to meet him. Amongst others, Lucchesini, the bearer of Prussian orders and the agent of Prussian intrigues, brought to Napoleon, on the part of Frederick, the black and the red eagle, with which the new-made Emperor decked himself out, and showed himself to his soldiers. This was done to wound Austria; because at this time Frederick, in compliance with the advice of Lucchesini and Haugwitz, had resolved, with what prudence and success the appalled world has seen, to second in every thing, and for every purpose, the designs of Napoleon. Cetto was sent by Bavaria; Beust, by the archchancery of the German empire; Alberg, by Baden; Benvenuti Bali, by the order of Malta; the Landemann Augusturi, by the mountainous Valais; the Prince of Masserano, by swarthy Spain; and by Lucca, Cotenna, and Belluomini;

while Tuscany sent a noble Corsini and a Vittorio Fossombroni. All came to honour and salute a potent and dreaded master.

The deputies of the Ligurian republic had business of a more serious nature to transact. The Genoese senate had sent the Doge, Durazzo, Cardinal Spina, the archbishop, Carbonara, and the senators, Roggieri, Maghella, Fravega, Balbi, Maglione, Delarue, and Scassi, to whom the greatest caresses and the highest honours were paid. The minister, Marescalchi, and Cardinal Caprara, did all they could to entertain them with banquets, and to honour them with audiences and compliments; nor was less courteousness displayed by the ministers of France. On every occasion, the Doge was called "His Serene Highness," and the senators "Their Excellencies." Their master himself always smiled graciously on them, and spoke much at large and in mellifluous words to them: in short, amidst the general festivity, the Ligurian deputies certainly had not the minor portion. Those who did not understand the disposition of Napoleon, arguing from the favour they were in, called the Ligurians

the happiest of people, and anticipated the brightest destiny for the little republic; but those who knew him suspected some hidden design and anticipated some shameful deceit. The Ligurian deputies themselves, those at least who were not concerned in the intrigue (for some of them were implicated in it), marvelled at being so caressed and honoured, and their minds were, therefore, not entirely free from fear. Admitted to an audience with the sovereign, they saw him serene and cheerful, congratulated him on his imperial dignity, and besought him to restore the commerce of his beloved Liguria. To this he replied, courteously, that he was aware of the affection of the Ligurians, which had always succoured the armies of France in times of difficulty; nor were their distresses unnoticed or unheeded by him. He assured them that he would wield his sword in their defence; that he was certain of the good will of the Doge; and that he saw both him and the senators with pleasure. He would go to Genoa; and proceed thither without guards, as amongst friends. After this audience, they were received and caressed by the Empress

and the Princess Eliza, the sister of Napoleon, married to Bacciocchi, who had recently been created a Prince. Every one, in short, showed fair seeming to the Ligurian deputies at the court of Napoleon.

The iron crown having been brought to Milan with much solemnity and pomp, the preparations for the coronation were commenced; which ceremony was performed on Sunday, the 26th of May, a day on which the weather was auspiciously fine, and the sun shone brilliantly, as if in honour of the new sovereign. The Empress Josephine and the Princess Eliza preceded the Emperor, arrayed in gorgeous robes. Both were resplendent with diamonds—ornaments which, in Italy, they ought to have displayed less than in any other country. Napoleon followed, wearing the Imperial crown, and carrying the Regal crown, the sceptre, and the hand of justice. He was clad in the regal mantle, the train of which was supported by the two grand equerries; a pompous train of ushers, heralds, pages, aides-de-camp, masters of the ceremonies, ordinary and extraordinary, chamberlains and equerries, accompanied

him, and seven ladies, splendidly dressed, carried the offerings. Immediately after them followed the great officers of France and Italy, and the presidents of the three electoral colleges of the kingdom, bearing the regalia of Charlemagne, of Italy, and of the empire; while ministers, councillors, and generals, increased the splendour of the assemblage. And now came Cardinal Caprara, accompanied by his clergy, with the canopy of state, who, with a countenance of deep respect, conducted the Sovereign to the sanctuary. I know not if any one remembered at this moment, that it was from this same temple that St. Ambrose had repulsed Theodosius, when stained with the blood of the Thessalonians. But modern prelates were not so particular in their scrutiny of Napoleon's life. The Emperor seated himself on the throne, and the Cardinal blessed the regal ornaments: the former then ascended to the altar, took the crown, and placed it on his head, uttering those words which excited the wonder of his flatterers—that is, of an entire generation: "*God has given it to me; woe to*

him who touches it."* At this instant the sacred vaults resounded with universal shouts of joy. Thus crowned, he seated himself on a throne at the other end of the nave, while ministers, courtiers, magistrates, and generals, stood around him. But the most beautiful spectacle was formed by the ladies who were seated in ornamented galleries. On a bench to the right sat Eugene, the Viceroy, Napoleon's adopted son. On him the smiles of the assembly were freely bestowed, knowing that he was to remain with them to exercise the supreme authority. To the Doge and the Genoese senators was assigned a place of peculiar honour in the Imperial gallery, and with them were forty beautiful women, magnificently attired. A splendid gallery too was set apart for Josephine and Eliza: the arches, the walls, the pillars, were covered with the richest hangings, with festoons of silk and draperies, bordered with

* The legend of the Crown itself. It derives the name of the Iron Crown from a small ring of iron, supposed to be made of a nail of the true cross, being placed within the gold circlet, which is narrow and studded with a few dim gems.

fringes of gold. The whole formed a grand, a magnificent, and wonderful scene, truly worthy of the superb Milan: high mass was sung; Napoleon took the oaths, and the heralds loudly proclaimed his accession in these words, "Napoleon the First, Emperor of the French, and King of Italy, is crowned, consecrated and enthroned. Long live the Emperor and King." The last words were repeated three times by the assembly with the most lively acclamations. By these pomps, and those of which Paris had been the scene, Napoleon contaminated all the glory he had won in Italy; for whoever, whether it be in peace or in war, labours solely for himself and not for his country, and ungenerously purposes to enslave her and bind her neck to the yoke, by means of the services he renders her, will not fail in the end to experience the retribution both of man and God. Such actions are iniquitous, not glorious; and if they did please the age, the age itself was vile. When the coronation was over, the magnificent train proceeded to sing the Ambrosian hymn, in the Ambrosian church. In the evening Milan was the scene of one great

festival; immense bonfires were lighted, innumerable races were contested, and a balloon was sent up to the sky. On every side resounded songs and music; everywhere were balls and revels. All these pomps seemed to indicate security and durability, and already the authorities reposed to their satisfaction in their seats.

Whilst the Doge and the Genoese deputies were entertained with honours and flatteries at Milan, through the agency of the devoted adherents of France, an iniquitous deed was plotting; and Napoleon was preparing fresh disturbances for afflicted Liguria. The necessity of an union with France was first insinuated, and afterwards openly spoken of. This then was the first interpretation of the words uttered by Napoleon a few days before to the Parisian Senate, when he declared that no new province was to be added to his empire. By his command mercenary agents were employed to convince the Genoese that their independence had been lost at the period of the revolution: they averred, "that from that time, under various names and pretexts, Genoa had virtually been a slave; that the state had greater

burdens than it could support by its own power, but, united to France, it might bear them with ease. It was vain," they said, "to hope that the powerful would not rule the feeble: this had been sufficiently proved by Austria, who had come as an ally,—by France, who had come as a friend; but the pride of human nature disdained moderation in its desires, nor were the overpowerful ever inclined to be just. The condition of Europe was changed; France had obtained an overpowering preponderance. By the union of Piedmont, and the allegiance of the kingdom of Italy, the diminutive Liguria was already surrounded and hemmed in on every side. Nothing then could be done, except to demand an union with France. Since, therefore, they could not rule alone, would it not," they asked, "be wise to rule in conjunction with another? The humbled Genoese ensigns were insulted by the barbarians who poured forth from the caves of Africa, whilst those of France were respected. The flag of Napoleon," they said, "would give security to the Ligurian navy; and thus a single political measure would accomplish that which

the ancient force of the republic was no longer equal to." To these representations were added flattering descriptions of the felicity that would result from being placed under the guardian hand of the heroic Napoleon. The Supreme Tribunal demanded the union with France, and the Senate supplicated Napoleon to decree it.

Both the artifices and the commands of the ruler of France and Italy having produced their effect (since the Genoese implored that for which he had commanded them to entreat), on the 4th of June the Ligurian deputies sought his presence at Milan,—when Jerome Durazzo, the Doge, who was destined by Heaven to witness the last hour of his noble country, and from whom the intrigues that had been carried on during his residence at Milan, had been concealed, all pale and agitated thus addressed the Emperor:—"The Genoese Ambassadors lay at the feet of your Imperial and Royal Majesty the votes of the Ligurian Senate and people. Having undertaken the charge of regenerating this nation, you have also bound yourself to secure its felicity,—a felicity to which your wisdom and valour alone can con-

duct us. The changes which have taken place in the condition of neighbouring nations, separating us entirely from them, render our own state insecure; and we are impelled by necessity to seek a union with that France on which you bestow such lustre. These are the wishes of the Ligurian nation; and it is to express them that we seek your august presence, and now entreat you to listen to them graciously on our behalf. The motives which incite us to this resolution prove to Europe that it proceeds not from any foreign impulse, but is, on the contrary, the necessary result of our actual situation. Deign then, Sire, graciously to hear the prayer of a people which, in times of the greatest adversity, ever showed affection towards France. Unite to your empire, then, this Liguria, the field of your earliest victories, the first step of that throne on which, for the salvation of all civil society, you are seated. Be then, we implore it of you, so benign as to grant us that happiness which is derived from being your subjects; your Majesty can never find any more faithful or more devoted."

The miserable Doge, having pronounced this

humble speech, and delivered the suffrages of the Genoese people to their master, Napoleon replied, "that he had, for a long time taken an interest in the affairs of Genoa; he had always promoted their advantage, and perceived that it was impossible for them now to perform anything worthy of their ancestors. Avaricious England closed their ports at pleasure, infested the seas, searched the ships; the pirates of Africa grew bolder every hour; Ligurian independence was in fact no other than slavery. As it was necessary, therefore, that Genoa should unite itself to some powerful state, he would fulfil their desires; he would willingly unite them to his own great people in recompense for their past services; they should return to their own country, and he would shortly visit them, and seal the happy union in Genoa itself."

The act which had been voted was then read; its preamble and conditions were in substance as follows:—"Since Liguria has not sufficient strength to maintain her independence; since England does not acknowledge the republic; since the sea is shut against her by barbarians,

the land by custom-houses; the Senate supplicates the Emperor and King to unite Liguria to his own empire." The stipulations were—that "The creditors of Genoa, like those of France, should be paid by the state;—the freedom of the port of Genoa should be guaranteed:—in levying the imposts, the sterility of the soil and the high price of labour should be considered;—the custom-houses and barriers between France and Genoa should be abolished;—conscripts should be raised only for the sea-service;—the duties on imposts and licences should be so regulated that the native proprietors and manufacturers should derive a profit;—causes, both civil and criminal, should be decided either in Genoa or in one of the departments of the empire nearest its frontier;—lastly, the purchasers of national property should be secured in their possessions."

Napoleon dissembled as to these conditions, replying ambiguously; as he chose to observe rather those amongst them which accorded with his own ideas, than those which the Genoese desired. But, for the time, wishing to mitigate the bitterness of the actual fact by the agency of a man of

mild and prudent character, he dispatched Prince Lebrun, Archchancellor of the Empire, to Genoa, to assimilate the laws to those of France. Nothing now remained but to celebrate with festivals the loss of its political existence as a nation. Napoleon arrived on the 30th of June at Genoa, attracted by the desire of listening to Genoese adulation, and of seeing a nation of slaves. The whole city poured forth to behold him. He arrived on the side of the Polcevera: the cavalry met him at Campo Marone; the bells rang gay peals; the batteries discharged salutes of artillery; the frigates and smaller craft floated round the harbour to display the signals of rejoicing. Whoever was touched by ambition assumed a calm demeanor; the Genose ladies attentively scrutinized Napoleon, in order to judge what kind of man he might be; amongst the people, some were lost in wonder, whilst others jested with sailor-like drollery. Then was displayed the obsequiousness of the nobles:—Michael Angelo Cambiaso, who had been created Syndic by Lebrun, presented the keys, saying, that "Genoa, termed the Proud from her local

magnificence, now obtained a proud destiny in giving herself to a hero. For many centuries she had jealously preserved her liberty,—this had been her boast; but a prouder boast was now hers, in delivering the keys of the queen of cities into the hands of him who, exceeding all others in wisdom and valour, was puissant enough to preserve her pure and uninjured." Napoleon answered courteously, and returned the keys. Spina, the Cardinal Archbishop, awaiting him on the threshold of the church of St. Theodore, wafted incense to him from the sacred censer; and Louis Corvetto, the President of the General Council, addressed him as the liberator of the good people of Genoa, whom he had adopted as his children;—"He was now in the midst of his family, and the Genoese forgot their past calamities; every other sentiment was absorbed in the one engrossing feeling of love for the Emperor and King. Through this were the Genoese the most devoted of subjects; through this were the most sacred duties fortified by the tenderest affections. He was entreated not to disdain the simplicity of their expressions. The hero, the

sovereign, the father, would doubtless take in good part their offered tribute of admiration, love, and fidelity." Then, in his own name, and that of Bartholomew Boccardi, a man of no mean intellect, and always a devoted partisan of France, he augured happiness to his country; and, calling Napoleon greater than Cæsar, exhorted him to change the original Cæsarean sentence, and say—*I came, I saw, I blessed.* This exquisite flattery pleased him to whom it was addressed, and Louis Corvetto was made a councillor of state. This was fortunate for the Genoese, who, having lost their ancient name, found in Corvetto one who affectionately loved them, who prudently advised them, who usefully advocated their interests with the master of the world, and who, never obeying the dictates of party spirit or ancient enmity, acted only for the true interests of his countrymen.

Napoleon listened to these immoderate praises with so much composure and hardihood, that I am lost in amazement at his effrontery. He was lodged in the Doria palace, which had been sedulously prepared for the purpose. The com-

plimentary gratulations ended, the fêtes began. They were commenced on the sea: a structure which they called the Temple of Neptune, or the Ocean Pantheon, afforded a magnificent spectacle. It was erected on a platform of vessels, which did not however appear above the water, for it seemed to stand on a verdant sward, and was moved through the waves by means of concealed machinery. This edifice was crowned by a grand cupola, supported by sixteen columns of the Ionic order, and was adorned by the statues of marine deities. On the external and internal entablature was an inscription, composed by the priest Solari, which signified that "the Ligurians augured to Napoleon, Emperor and King, the sovereignty of the sea, as he already possessed that of the land." The whole construction was ingenious and beautiful; and, when it had been brought to the middle of the harbour, Napoleon took his seat, the by-standers delightedly gazing on the splendid scene. Four floating islets, representing four Chinese gardens, adorned with palms, cedars, lemon, orange, and pomegranate trees, refreshed with gushing fountains of

the purest water, covered by cupolas, entwined with various colours, and ornamented by a surprising quantity of harmonious little bells, which were put in motion by the continual movement of the machinery, kept gliding from one part of the harbour to another. An innumerable fleet of boats, small barges, skiffs, canoes, and gondolets, tastefully ornamented, added the shifting changes of their sails and oars to the changes of the ever varying sea, and at every moment presented to the eye of the spectator a thousand various groups and figures. A regatta, or rather a race between six ships, next took place: two issued at once from each of the marine gates, and with astonishing velocity strove for the prize of swiftness, which was gained by that bearing the flag of the bridge of Spinola; and the plaudits and festive shouts of the multitude mounted to the skies. Night now arrived, but the scene became more beautiful, for the crystal lustres that were suspended between the columns of the floating temple were suddenly illuminated, and threw on the moving waters countless rays of brilliant light, which were reflected back from its smooth surface in

dazzling scintillations of varying colour. The small cupolas of the islets were also illuminated, to correspond with the lofty dome of the pantheon: stars of fire encircled the temple and the islets, in the manner taught by Vitruvius. The agile barks also hung out their lights, which, as they bounded along the waves, or swiftly turned round, seemed the play of lightning on the water: when beheld from one side of the shores, they were mingled in the full blaze of the temple and islands; but, from the other, strewed the darkness of night with innumerable wandering stars. Whilst the eye was enraptured by sights of such beauty, the ear was enchanted with sounds not less exquisite. The bowers of the Chinese islands were filled with bands of vocal and instrumental musicians, in appropriate costume, who executed the gayest music. At the same time, the walls of the city seemed a rampart of fire; all the palaces, and almost all the houses were illuminated, and the entire amphitheatre of Genoa the Superb proudly answered by its magnificence to the splendour of the sea. The tower of the Lanthorn bursting

forth into instantaneous brilliancy, with lights disposed in a thousand beautiful forms, attracted the eyes of all, and called forth an universal intense shout of applause. The wonder was still increased, when from its top burst forth torrents of flame, as if it had been suddenly transformed into a volcano. Nor were the fireworks the least remarkable part of this magnificent festival: two temples of fire, of exquisite beauty, rose at the same instant from the opposite points of the mole, while other fireworks prepared with astonishing skill now darting into the water, seemed for a moment extinct, and now burst again into the upward air with redoubled splendour. Thus did the soft movements on the peopled sea, the resplendent beauty of the illuminations, the mirthful sounds of the exquisite music combine to form a scene unequalled for delight and grandeur.

These pleasures were enjoyed by Napoleon till ten in the evening: then, leaving the marine temple, he was conducted to the magnificent palace of Jerome Durazzo, where he found new and exquisite honours—new and exquisite flatteries. The Genoese celebrated servitude with greater

pomp than they had ever done liberty. The reason of this is evident: liberty pleases every one, and no one seeks to pay court to her; but despotism is odious to all, and all seek to appease its spirit. A sumptuous banquet was given to Napoleon in that very same national palace where the greatest men of the extinct republic had so often and so wisely consulted on her most important interests. Josephine in the meanwhile had arrived from France, and Eliza from Piombino, in time for this festival. The banquet was gay:—whether any unwelcome recollections of former glories alloyed its pleasures I know not. The Ambrosian hymn was sung in the cathedral of St. Lorenzo; here bishops and archbishops took the oaths in the words of the Emperor. He then bestowed the insignia of the Legion of Honour: the highest were given to Durazzo, Cambiaso, Celesia, Corvetto, Serra, Cattaneo, and the Archbishop Spina. To Cambiaso, Durazzo, Corvetto, and Gentile, he made presents—jewels set in gold: these were the tokens of an extinct country, these the rewards of her extinction. The Emperor commanded the statue of Andrew Doria, which

the jacobins had thrown down, to be again set up. This was all that was wanting to fill up the measure of insult to the memory of Doria. Satisfied with having not only made the Genoese his slaves, but having seen them content themselves as such, Napoleon returned through Turin to his Imperial Paris, while Prince Lebrun remained behind, as Governor of Genoa. Acting from the dictates of his own moderate disposition, the latter gradually arranged the state on the model of France. He took particular delight in re-modelling the University, and received the professors with pleasure; between the meritoriousness of their labours and the generosity of the rewards bestowed, the zeal both of the masters and of the scholars was much increased, and the Genoese University became flourishing. Some months passed between the introduction of the French laws and the union with France: at length (Regnault St. Jean D'Angely, being the speaker on the occasion) that union was decreed on the 4th of October by a Senate declaring the territories of Genoa to be annexed to those of France; and thus ended one of the most ancient states, not only of Italy, but

of Europe. Regnault did not fail to colour and varnish his subject in the usual style; his happiest hit was his finding out that France destroyed the independence of Genoa (for such was the signification of his words), only because England did not respect it. The commencement of the union, however, was a joyful one; for the powerful hand of Napoleon led back to their native shores those Genoese who had languished in cruel slavery on the coasts of Africa.

The republic of Lucca also perished: thus was verified the saying of Napoleon, that monarchy was unequal to the task of overcoming republicanism. Piombino was first given to Eliza, his sister; and then Lucca and Piombino to her and Bacciocchi. A senate was granted to Lucca; conscripts were not enrolled there by law, but all were soldiers; taxes and imposts could not be raised, except by law. Offices, with the exception of such as were judicial, could be held only by the Lucchese themselves. Bacciocchi and his consort had the title of Prince and Princess of Lucca; and Bacciocchi reigned over that noble city.

Animated by successful daring, Napoleon became still more audacious; and now prepared Parma also for an union with France: he promulgated the French laws there. Already the ambitious amongst her citizens turned to Paris as the fountain of their hopes. Moreau de St. Mery seconded the Emperor, rather, however, to gratify himself, than his master; for he loved power more than was becoming in a moderate man already past the prime of life. But the climate, the people, and the office, had a thousand charms.

Whilst Napoleon ran over Italy in triumphal pomp, and whilst the Italian states were successively falling in ruins, Pius the Seventh returned to Rome. In an assembly of the Cardinals, he detailed what he had already effected, and what he yet hoped to effect, promising himself important advantages to religion and to the Roman church as the result of his journey to Paris. Having regulated the ecclesiastical affairs of France, those of Italy now engaged his serious attention, where a spirit of opposition to the Holy

See was widely diffused, the doctrines of Ricci, bishop of Pistoja, having taken deep root in every part of the Peninsula.

By his bull "*Auctorem Fidei*," Pius the Sixth had severely censured the propositions of the synod of Pistoja, especially the eighty-fifth, by which that body declared its adherence to the doctrines of the clergy of France. At a subsequent period, when Tuscany was governed by the Imperial regency of Austria, Ricci had been confined to his villa of Rignano.* The Archbishop of Florence earnestly advised and seriously admonished him to retract. The Bishop, standing on general propositions, affirmed that he had never held the opinions which perverse men had imputed to

* Ricci had acted on the instructions and with the concurrence of Leopold the Second, in conducting the ecclesiastical reforms of Tuscany. A part of his duty had been to inquire into the conduct of the richly-endowed religious houses. In consequence of the immorality which was found to reign, all were suppressed, except those devoted to the care of the sick and other works of active charity. In many respects, Ricci wished to restore the simplicity of the primitive church, and endeavoured to introduce the liturgy in the vulgar tongue, &c.—*Tr.*

him, but had uniformly been, in heart, and soul, and conscience, a true Catholic. At this time Pius the Sixth died; and, on the assumption of Pius the Seventh, he wrote, through the medium of the secretary Consalvi, to the new Pontiff, professing his reverence for the pontifical authority, founded, as he said, on the authority of the sacred writings; his adherence to the whole Catholic verity, and the integrity of his orthodox faith. He wrote thus, partly because (saving some mental reservation) such was the fact, and partly because the harsh proceedings of the Tuscan regency terrified him; for these times were far different from the reign of Leopold. His letters, however, were not found satisfactory; and a formal notice was sent to him from Rome that, if he did not renounce the errors of the synod, the Pope would proceed rigorously against him. He was given to understand, also, from Tuscany that, if he did not, without the smallest delay, accede to the demands of France, he should be carried to the castle of St. Angelo, and never suffered to see the light again: such were the intimations of the regency. In this crisis the French again occupied

Tuscany. The Bishop then wrote, at length, a fresh defence of his conduct, in which he examined the eighty-five propositions one by one, and pronounced them all orthodox. With respect to the eighty-fifth, and its accordance with the declaration of the French clergy, he expressed his conviction that he had done no injury to that illustrious church in adopting its doctrines. The great Bossuet, to whom the Catholic communion owed such signal obligations, had defended and maintained the four articles; nor had he adopted them in his synod as points of doctrine, but as an efficacious mode of showing the limits which divide the two powers, ecclesiastical and secular.

Then, as to the rules of discipline, he had believed himself entitled, as bishop, to reform abuses. This duty had even been established as an express precept by the Council of Trent. When the Pope passed through Florence, on his way to France, for the coronation, the Bishop repeated his professions of obedience and faith, and sent an assurance of them to Pius. The Pontiff, on his return from Paris, passing again through Florence, informed Ricci that he would

embrace him with pleasure, if he would first sign a prescribed declaration. He desired that Ricci should in this declare, that he accepted with respect, purely and simply, in heart and spirit, all the apostolical constitutions which had emanated from the Holy See against the errors of Bajus, Jansenus, Quesnil, and their disciples, from the time of Pius the Sixth to the present, and especially the doctrinal bull, *Auctorem Fidei*, which, condemned, individually and collectively, the eighty-five propositions enunciated by the synod of Pistoja; that it was his wish, in order to remedy the scandal that had arisen, that the declaration should be rendered public; and, finally, that he should protest his desire to live and to die in the faith of the Catholic, Apostolic, and Roman church, in perfect and true submission to our Lord Pope Pius the Seventh, and his successors, vicars of Jesus Christ. Compelled by the emergencies of the times, and fearing that a refusal would draw down on him the penal censures against pertinacity, Ricci signed the declaration. The Pope and the Queen awaited him in the Pitti palace: the Pope threw himself on his

neck, embraced him, and seated him at his side, caressed him exceedingly, and praised the resolution he had taken in the warmest manner. The first fervour of their greetings being over, the Bishop delivered a writing to the Pope, the import of which was that, to show obedience and submission to the Holy See, he had willingly subscribed the declaration. In examining his conscience, he found that he entertained no other doctrine than that defined by the bull of Pius the Sixth: therefore, he was obliged, by truth and conscience, to declare, as he had declared, that he had never believed nor maintained the enunciated propositions in the heretical sense justly condemned by the bull, having always intended, if any equivocal expression had escaped, to retract and correct it. He, therefore, prayed the Pope graciously to accept this declaration, as an effusion of his heart. Pius approved of this second declaration, affirmed his conviction of the Catholic purity of Ricci, and promised to pledge himself for it to the consistory. This said, he bestowed fresh caresses on the Bishop. He afterwards wrote to him from Rome long and affec-

tionate letters, declaring that Ricci would descend to posterity with glory for having preferred truth and Christian obedience to the suggestions of self-love; and that his name would be enrolled with the most illustrious of mankind. In his address to the consistory also, he praised him highly. The Tuscan government, however, would not permit the address to be printed, as they did not wish to rekindle extinguished fires, or to renew the disputes on the subject. Thus Pius, victorious over Napoleon, triumphed also over Ricci, two potent adversaries—one by the force of arms, the other by the force of opinion. Nevertheless, the seeds and roots of adverse doctrines remained in Italy. The disciples of Ricci not only persevered in their opinions, but maintained that he had never openly retracted. In fact, certain it is that the Bishop, although covertly, spoke in his own justification in such terms, that it was easy to perceive that he cherished opinions adverse to the infallibility of the Pope, and to that plenitude of authority which the theologians of Rome attribute to the Roman See.

The concordat had settled the affairs of the church in France, and the Pope now hoped to promote the interests of the Holy See by another expedient. His compact with Napoleon had placed a bridle on the sect of philosophers, and in another mode he hoped to strike at the root of the evil, which he believed to proceed from that sect amongst Catholics which impugned his authority, by alleging the maxims and usages of the primitive church. Their jurisdiction over the general church gives the Roman Pontiffs in foreign countries overt power, while secret information and insinuations secure to them also a covert influence. For such purposes, the Jesuits are powerful agents; because, on one side, in virtue of their peculiar rule, every thing that they can spy out is speedily communicated to their general at Rome, and by him to the papal government; and, on the other hand, as counsellors of princes and instructors of youth, they draw the rulers and the ruled to whatever they design, in employing religious means to promote worldly ends. This order was a tremendous engine for commanding both princes and people,

and he who devised it must have possessed a powerful mind and a profound knowledge of human affairs. Napoleon himself, with his desultory and inconsistent mode of proceeding, never devised such an irresistible scheme of making himself master of the world as that which was framed by an insignificant Spanish friar, and an obscure Roman priest. Although the order of the Jesuits had been suppressed, their spirit still lived. Masters in the art of accommodating their opinions to the circumstances of the times, they spread abroad with surprising dexterity the idea that, precisely in consequence of the suppression of their order all the miseries of the age had arisen: the breaking out of revolutions, the overthrow of thrones, the riots of a licentious liberty, the anarchy which had totally dissolved good order, had all proceeded from this one event, which had enabled the philosophers and the Jansenists to destroy every social tie. Against such powerful and such obstinate enemies, neither Kings without the Pope, nor the Pope without Kings, nor both united, could oppose any effectual resistance,

unless assisted by the efficacious aid of the Jesuits. Modern philosophy seduced ardent minds devoted to pleasure, by taking away from the passions their restraints; Jansenism seduced enthusiasts in morals, by an appearance of sanctimony and austerity; kings could no longer regulate the instruction of youth; the Pope was no longer able to control the minds of ill-instructed men. The aid of those who could implant virtue in the mind, and who could be, and were, masters of all that the mind of man can conceive, or his hand execute, was now of imperative necessity. The populace conspired together against the powerful,—the powerful ought to unite against the vulgar; nor could one mode of resistance alone suffice to baffle the greatness of the danger. That defence which was at once the most coercive, the most persuasive, the most general, should be sought; and this was to be found in the Jesuits alone; they should be called to restore social order to the salvation of tottering thrones—to the re-organization of convulsed Europe. The alternative was, Jesuits, or revolution succeeding revolution: in

them alone could safety be found. These ideas they widely diffused, as if the world did not know full well that they only became the defenders of sovereigns, when sovereigns consented to become their slaves.

Terror is a bad counsellor, because it blinds the judgment. Some princes, moved by the artful representation of the Jesuits, desired the restoration of the order; not considering that, in becoming thus the masters of their people, they would themselves become the servants of others: nor even was there any security in this measure, because Catholic countries alone, in which the principles implanted by the Jesuits had flourished, had been the scenes of calamitous revolutions; whilst Protestant states, where their doctrines and their arts were unknown, had been exempt from these disturbances. None, moreover, so openly or so tenaciously advocated the doctrine of the lawfulness of assassinating certain kings as the Jesuits. Ferdinand of Naples implored the Pope to restore the Company of Jesus in his realm, as had already been done in Russia; in order, as he said, to instruct the

youth of his dominions in true and saving doctrines: to this the Pope willingly consented; and one Gabriel Gruber regulated the establishment. Miserable condition of man, who knows no other remedy for one extreme than employing the contrary extreme against it! Thus commenced the restoration of the Jesuits, whom one Pope and all his regal contemporaries had unanimously condemned! it was commenced, too, by a monarch who had actively co-operated in the suppression of the order, and by a Pope of the order of Benedictines, the bitterest enemies of the Jesuits. Whether this (an event as strange in its beginning as important in its result) be for the benefit of the human race, posterity will prove; but, if we may judge of the future by the past, melancholy doubts as to its expediency must cloud the minds of those prudent men who desire the tranquillity of states, the independence of princes, and the liberty of the people.

Whilst the Pontiff endeavoured to confirm his newly-recovered power, fresh wounds were preparing for ensanguined Europe. The elevation of Napoleon to the Imperial throne of France

had excited the anger of all the other potentates, and had given them reason to dread fresh aggressions and stricter control. Prussia alone rejoiced in it, flattering herself that this new empire would be more favourable to her aggrandizement than were the ancient states of England and Russia. Two material circumstances arose out of the coronation of Napoleon: first, it put an end to all hope of the restoration of the Bourbons; and, secondly, the Imperial authority gave him increased power to employ as he would the resources of the French nation. None believed him likely to use this power with moderation, and Austria least of all. Besides, it was deemed imprudent to give him time to consolidate his empire; and it was generally believed, that this Imperial fancy of Napoleon was deeply resented, both by the partisans of the Bourbons and by the French republicans, and that they would be little inclined to assist him in case of a new war.

Every one was aware that he was not the man to neglect exerting his new power, so as best to confirm it, and so that, if time were allowed

him, it would become difficult, if not impossible, to curb it. His ardent desire of power rendered it impossible for him to dissimulate. His post was already that of the Emperor of the West: this was the interpretation given to his conferring, both at his coronation at Paris and at Milan, the same honours as Charlemagne had done: this was the meaning of the iron crown of the Lombard kings, and of his assertions already made since that time, that Italy was a vassal fief of his empire. In the mind of Alexander other reasons also concurred to excite dissatisfaction against Napoleon, the chief of which was the murder of the Duke d'Enghien, a youth of his own age, with whom he had been intimately acquainted, and whom he had sincerely loved. These feelings excited in the principal potentates of Europe the desire of a new league for their common defence, and for the preservation of the ancient states of Europe; the object of which was either to treat with Napoleon for the independence of the established monarchies, if any solid guarantee could be obtained from him, or to try the effect of a new contest in arms, whilst he was yet young on

his throne. Nor was England wanting to herself; for, not only was she excited by ancient hatred, but by the danger which seemed to threaten her on her own shores. Napoleon had assembled a numerous army on the coasts of Picardy and Normandy, menacing an invasion of the three kingdoms; nor were the means of transport wanting, as he had collected a considerable quantity of small craft, besides the ships of war. The people of France seconded his intentions with the greatest zeal, by offers of ships and money. William Pitt, at this time the Prime Minister of George the Third, held this projected invasion in contempt, knowing that the naval superiority of Great Britain would render a landing difficult; and more difficult still would it be to acquire any firm footing on the island, unless it were totally subjugated. Notwithstanding this, however, the warlike preparations of France perplexed the nation, and interrupted her commerce; the minister, therefore, laboured with all his power to raise up new enemies, and form a fresh league against France. To this intent, a treaty had been already concluded at

St. Petersburg, in the month of April, between Russia and England, by which both parties bound themselves to employ the most prompt and efficacious means to form a general league; and five hundred thousand soldiers were to be raised, besides the troops furnished by England. They were to induce or to constrain France to make peace, and agree to such an arrangement of territory in Europe, that no one state should preponderate over the rest. Napoleon was to be compelled to evacuate Hanover and the north of Germany, to restore the independence of Holland and Switzerland, to re-instate the King of Sardinia with some increase of territory, to give security to the King of Naples, and to evacuate the whole of Italy, including the Isle of Elba. Sweden and Austria had already joined the league. It was resolved, however, before coming to an open rupture, to try the effect of negociation, not only to avoid, if possible, the risk of the contest, but to allow time for preparation, and for the arrival of the Russian army. The allies therefore resolved to send Baron Novosiltzoff to Paris to bear their offers to the Emperor, and

to urge him to come to an agreement conformable to their desires.

The envoy of the confederates had already reached Berlin, when intelligence was received of the union of Genoa with France—an event contrary to the declarations of Napoleon, and adverse to the empire of Austria in Italy. On this unexpected intelligence, Novosiltzoff discontinued his journey till further orders, and was immediately recalled to St. Petersburg. The annexation of Genoa, and the fate of Lucca, which was soon after known, united Austria more closely to Russia. The language which usually precedes war, was now heard on all sides: Austria informed Napoleon of her resolution to co-operate with Russia and England, in order to effect an honourable and solid pacification throughout Europe; this she had desired before the union of Genoa and Lucca, and now still more than then. This declaration excited the indignation of Napoleon. He replied, that he placed little confidence either in Russia or England—that Austria possessed the means of forcing them to pacific measures, as they must

pass through her territories to invade France. But neither could he confide in Austria herself; she was arming in Poland, strengthening herself beyond measure in Italy; the Tyrol was filled with soldiers; yet if she really desired to maintain peace, she must withdraw from the Italian and German Tyrol the regiments lately sent there, must discontinue the raising of new fortifications, must reduce to the number of the peace establishment the troops posted throughout Stiria, Carinthia, Friuli, and the Venetian territories, and must declare to England her resolution to remain neutral.

From all this it was easy to perceive that there was little hope of the continuance of peace; for Napoleon was not a man to be induced by threats to undo any thing he had done; neither would Austria on her side retreat, knowing that Alexander already approached her frontiers with two armies of fifty thousand men each. In consequence of this, she assumed a yet higher tone; still, however, professing to Napoleon her desire of preserving the friendship of France and the peace of Europe, but affirming that the treaty

of Luneville, which had stipulated for the independence of the Italian Republics, had been violated by the recent events in Italy, and that the independent states of that country were agitated by the fear of fresh aggressions. "One sole power ought not to arrogate to itself the right of regulating the interests of foreign states to the exclusion of all other potentates. France was required to observe her treaties; she was required to respect the dignity and the rights of other nations; peace was offered to her on the original conditions,—it now was offered ere the contest of arms was commenced,—it would be offered to her when the result was proved. Austria would ever be willing to treat on such terms as should guarantee the observance of former stipulations, and the independence of nations."

These professions were followed by similar declarations on both sides, each party pretending only a desire for peace, and respect for the rights of others. The French Emperor, who had always overwhelmed his enemies by the rapidity of his movements, seeing the new league that was

made against him, and that war was inevitable, and being tranquil as to Prussia, who, blinded by the desire of possessing a share in the spoils of others, was deceived in her opinion of Napoleon, instantly ordered the force assembled against England to march into Germany, and to succour Bavaria menaced by Austria, repelling force by force. Then, ordering a fresh levy of conscripts, he soon after repaired in person to the German plains, knowing that his name and his presence were in themselves a host of war. On her side, Austria committed the command of the Germanic army to the Archduke Ferdinand, a youth of energetic mind, and sent with him, as the moderator of his youthful ardour, General Mack, in whom the Emperor Francis placed great confidence: this confidence, however, had been excited by fair-sounding words, rather than by any proofs of ability.

In Italy military affairs stood thus:—Austria, considering the weight of the Archduke Charles's name, had given him the command of the army assembled on the banks of the Adige; the Archduke John was placed with a considerable force

in the Tyrol, for the double purpose of guarding the passes, and of co-operating, as circumstances might require, either with the German or Italian army. It was also designed, that a considerable body of Russians and English, then stationed in Malta and Corfu, should be landed in Italy. Although he gave his chief attention to the war in Germany, Napoleon did not, however, neglect the defence of Italy; but, having learned that the Archduke Charles was to head the enemy, and having more confidence in the fortunes of Massena than of Jourdan, he substituted the Italian general for the German. He sent so many troops to Italy that, between French and natives, Massena commanded a powerful army, not inferior in number to that of the enemy, which might be about eighty thousand strong. Massena was encamped on the right banks of the Adige, prepared, at the first signal of hostility, to attempt the passage. The Emperor of France, whose practice, in all his campaigns, had been to disregard the extremities, and who preferred a vigorous and concentrated attack to a feeble war of detail, struck ever at the main point, aware that the extremities

must fail also if the heart be paralyzed. In this view he ordered Gouvion St. Cyr to hasten from the kingdom of Naples to the banks of the Adige. This he might securely do, as his arts had persuaded Ferdinand, by means of the Marquis del Gallo, his ambassador at Paris, to sign a treaty of neutrality. By this compact the King bound himself, not only to remain neutral during the existing war, but to repel by force every attempt to infringe this neutrality—to prohibit the disembarkation of any hostile force, or the entrance of the enemy's ships into his ports, and not to give the command of his troops or his fortresses to any officer in the pay of the allies, comprehending also the French exiles: this last condition was particularly directed against Count Roger de Damas. Trusting, as he said, to the promises of Ferdinand, Napoleon, on his part, consented to withdraw all his troops from the kingdom, and to deliver up the places they had occupied to Neapolitan officers. Besides this, he bound himself to observe, during the present war, the neutrality of both the Sicilies. St. Cyr marched to the Adige.

According to custom, hostilities were preceded by manifestoes: those of the Archduke were moderate—those of Napoleon's general were less temperate; and when the war had actually commenced in Germany by the Austrian invasion of Bavaria, the Viceroy of Italy published the declaration of war against Austria in terms of bitter reproach. "Vienna," he said "had resolved on war against the French and Italian nations. The house of Austria had taken advantage of the noble confidence of the Emperor Napoleon to invade the territories of a prince of the empire, solely because, faithful to treaties, he had continued to be the friend and ally of the Emperor of the French and the King of Italy; but no doubts of the issue could be entertained. Napoleon commanded the armies. They were confident in him, he in them. That God who was ever terrible to the perjured, would combat on his side. His glory, his genius, his justice, his valour, would conquer for him; and, finally, the fidelity and the love of his people would fight on his side. The defeat of the enemy was inevitable."

All was yet tranquil in Italy, whilst war fiercely

raged in Germany; for, at the request of the Archduke, who wished to see what turn the campaign in Germany would take, an agreement had been made between him and Massena, to defer offensive operations till the 18th of October. This was a great error on the part of the Austrians, because it never yet was prudent to await the decision of fortune in a single point, when there are means of trying it in many. This error was still more important, as affording St. Cyr time to join Massena before the commencement of active hostilities. No such oversights marked the conduct of Napoleon, who, marching with incredible celerity from the coast of Picardy to the banks of the Danube, came up with, and fought the Austrian army, before the Russians could reach the field of battle to aid them. And thus the Archduke was by the disasters in Germany virtually defeated in Italy before any combat had taken place there. The star of Napoleon had prevailed. Already arrived in Germany, he had marched on the Austrians before they had time to issue from the passes of the Black Forest, or to fortify them against him.

In these manœuvres, besides his astonishing celerity, he displayed against an enemy, so often defeated, an extraordinary grandeur of military genius. Within a few days Mack was surrounded on every side, cut off from Vienna, and shut up within the walls of Ulm.

Napoleon gained first the battle of Wertingen, and next that of Gunzburg. Two circumstances had facilitated these victories: first, the aid of Bavaria; next, his having, in defiance of the neutrality of Prussia, (preferring success to the observance of treaties,) crossed her territory at Bareith and Anspach—the first enabling the French to appear on the right at Augsburg and Monaco, and on the left at Neuburg, Ingolstadt, and Ratisbon, taking the Austrians every where in the rear; and thus not only were they shut up, but Mack was separated from the Archduke John.

The 18th of October, on which the suspension of arms terminated, had scarcely dawned, when Massena commenced offensive operations, incited to action by the intelligence he had received of the successes of his companions in Germany. At

four in the morning he attacked the enemy above and below Verona, and strove to force a passage over the river, between these two points.

To this intent Duhesme and Gardanne were commanded to carry the bridge, which was not only broken, but walled up at the end. But Lacombe St. Michele, a general of artillery, at great personal risk, applied a petard to the wall, whilst the Austrians directed a tremendous fire against him from the left bank, and blew it up; and General Chasseloup, with courage equally undaunted, repaired the bridge for the passage. The light-armed troops crossed over, but being closely pressed by the Germans, their danger was extreme. Gardanne hastened with his main body to their aid, and renewed the combat. The contest was carried on with various success, and great courage on both sides. The Archduke, who was encamped at San Martino, quickly reinforced his party, in consequence of which a more general and more animated engagement took place, and Duhesme crossed with his whole brigade. Yet the French, although they had the advantage, were not, on this day, completely victorious, but

were obliged to return to their encampment on the right side of the river, retaining, however, possession of the bridge. The Austrians lost some cannon, and three thousand men in killed, wounded, and prisoners; while the loss of the French amounted to one thousand. Massena, whether restrained by considerations as to the strong position of the Archduke, or waiting the arrival of St. Cyr, or desirous of obtaining further intelligence from Germany before he advanced, remained some days without making any movement of consequence. At this moment the most welcome intelligence reached him. The whole of Mack's army, with the exception of a small squadron, which had fled under the Archduke Ferdinand, had laid down their arms, and had delivered themselves up, defeated and captive, into the hands of Napoleon—an event which entailed the annihilation of the entire Austrian force in Germany. The Emperor Napoleon had, in this campaign, even surpassed the General and Consul Buonaparte, both in fortune and skill. Thus the aspect of the Italian war was now changed; the Archduke was obliged to weaken his force by

sending a part in aid of the perishing empire of his brother. The Germans were intimidated; the French elated. Massena, on hearing the wonderful events of Ulm, resolved, without loss of time, to attack the enemy in his strong encampment at Caldiero. On the 29th he crossed the river. Duhesme and Gardanne were ordered to pass by the bridge; Seras on the left, at the passage of Ponte Polo; Verdier on the right, lower down, between Ronco and Albaredo; places already rendered famous by the battle of Arcola. Having passed the bridge, Duhesme and Gardaune extended their lines towards the right. Seras had crossed higher up for another purpose, and following the skirts of the mountains, and occupying the heights of Val Pontena, which commanded the castle of San Felice, whose artillery had much annoyed the French in passing the bridge, obliged the Austrians to evacuate Veronetta; and the reduction of Veronetta enabled the remaining squadrons of the French army, particularly the cavalry, to pass; so that the Austrians, driven from all their posts, and finally from San Michele, retreated, with great loss, beyond San

Martino, disputing, however, every step. The French remained under arms all night at Vago. The Archduke resolved to make head at Caldiero, rather because he was unwilling to give up Italy without a battle than because he hoped to effect any important change in the state of the war, as the preponderance of Napoleon was already too great to admit of such expectation.

On the morning of the 30th, the Archduke disposed his line of battle, extending his right beyond the eminences of St. Pietro, opposite the village of Fromegna, and stretching his left towards the Adige, as far as Gambione. These points were well furnished with artillery; in case, too, of any sinister accident, he had placed a reserve of cavalry, and twenty-four battalions of grenadiers towards Villanova, where the high road to Verona divides, leading on one side to Lonigo, and on the other to Vicenza.

The French general had divided his forces in three squadrons: the centre was commanded by Gardanne, the right by Duhesme, the left by Molitor. A large body of reserve, composed of the grenadiers of Portonneaux, and of the cavalry

under D'Espagne and Monnet, were stationed at a short distance in the rear. Massena having heard that the service committed to Seras and Verdier had been accomplished, resolved to give battle. Molitor was the first to rush on the enemy. His attack was furious, but he was as spiritedly repelled. Gardanne and Duhesme pushed on, and the engagement became quickly general on the whole front of both parties: Gardanne driving on with extreme energy, forced fortune to decide in his favour; for, chasing the Germans from place to place, although they valiantly resisted, he possessed himself of Caldiero by a bayonet charge. The right and left wings seeing this, threw themselves also impetuously on the enemy, and drove them back. But, collecting again on the heights, they there made an obstinate defence; notwithstanding that the French every where had the advantage. It was now four in the evening: the Archduke commanded the advance of his rear-guard, which, as has been before related, he had reserved to restore the fortune of the day; and now the balance became so equal, that it could not be said to incline to one side

more than to the other. Massena seeing this new support on the enemy's side, commanded the advance of his rear-guard also, and the combat became desperate and mortal; for the German grenadiers and cavalry, as well as the French troops of the same description, who had recently joined the battle, fulfilled their duty to the utmost. At last the French cavalry prevailed. The Austrian grenadiers still resisted; but those under Portonneaux resorting to their bayonets, made such a vigorous charge, that they were compelled to give way. Thus the Germans yielding the victory to the more powerful, retired from the field to the shelter of the batteries which the Archduke had planted on the eminences that tower above Caldiero. This battle was remarkable from the similarity of the dispositions made by the two adverse commanders; for both presented one general front, and both had kept a body of grenadiers and cavalry in reserve. The Austrians lost thirty cannon, and three thousand five hundred soldiers—the French about fifteen hundred. All the generals under Massena distinguished themselves in this affair.

The Archduke was dissatisfied with Vukassovich, who had been encamped at Campagnola, and who, being, as it appeared, off his guard, suffered an unexpected attack in the rear, which defeated the general plan of the Austrian generalissimo. Such is the uncertainty of war; for this is the same Vukassovich who has merited so many encomiums in this narration, as an able, a spirited, and a vigilant commander.

During the engagement of Caldiero, the Archduke had sent, on his right, towards the mountains, a column of 5,000 men under Hillinger, in order to wind round so as to fall on the rear of the French. This movement he had commanded, either because he was not aware that Seras was already marching in force on the same spot, or because he had hoped to be able to maintain his ground at Caldiero for a longer time. The result was unfortunate for the Austrian army. Seras, marching on, got between Hillinger and the Archduke, and cut off the detached squadron, which was reduced to the necessity of surrendering.

The battle of Caldiero, the disaster of Hillin-

ger, and the orders of the Emperor, his brother, left the Archduke no alternative. Accordingly, on the night of the 1st of November, he commenced his retreat by the road of Vicenza. Then, continuing (not without skill) gradually to yield the field, he conducted his army, with less loss than could have been expected from his previous disasters, and the celerity of his retreat, to the banks of the Save, and took up his station at Lubiana. The French closely pursued him, captured a few small bodies of stragglers, and possessed themselves of large magazines of provisions, particularly at Udine and Palmanova. In this manner the fertile district of the Venetian Terrafirma, a second time conquered by the victorious arms of Napoleon, was wrested from Austria. The city of Venice alone was now in the possession of the Germans.

At this conjuncture St. Cyr arrived from Naples. Massena finding himself obliged to follow the Archduke through the mountains of Carniola and Corinthia, deemed it imprudent to leave the Venetian shores defenceless, as he feared a debarkation of Russians and English. He there-

fore ordered St. Cyr to extend his line, and guard the shores from the mouth of the Adige to the city of Venice. This precaution was fortunate in its result; for, though no attempt was made by the enemy to land troops on the shore, it was important, in its consequences, on the Terrafirma itself. Napoleon, anxious to prostrate the whole force of Austria, which still held out on the rocky heights of the Tyrol and the Vorarlberg, had sent Ney from Augsburg against the Archduke John, and Augereau against Jellacheick. Ney quickly gained the pass of Scharnitz, and occupied the German Tyrol; and then, with no less celerity, mastering the pass of Sterzing, possessed himself of the Italian Tyrol, the Archduke retiring, or rather flying, with great difficulty, to shelter himself in Carniola. Augereau drove before him the yielding Jellacheick from the Vorarlberg; and the German general, finding the passes of the Tyrol shut up by Ney, was forced to surrender. The conquest of the Tyrol produced another effect of the greatest importance. A body of 7,000 infantry and 1,000 horse, under the Prince of Roano, obliged to descend by the

banks of the Brenta towards the plains watered by that river, fell in with St. Cyr at Castelfranco, and after a furious conflict was constrained to surrender. On this, Massena, who was now secure on the rear, accelerated the advance of his front, and established his quarters at Lubiana, the Archduke retiring from that city, first to Croatia, and finally to the principality of Sirmio in Sclavonia, between the Drave and the Save. Seras occupied Trieste. The troops of Massena and Ney met at Villach and Clagenfurth. The two armies of France, the Germanic, and Italian, assembled together for the future enterprises of the banks of the Danube. Grand, bold, and admirably combined were these movements of Napoleon; and the result was equal to the masterly conceptions which had produced them. In less than one short month, all the warlike array of Austria was destroyed; and the Emperor Francis, almost entirely deprived of his own army, had no other resource, save the aid of Russia, which, if it had reached him before his defeat, would have been a powerful adjunct, but was now unavailing to repair his losses. Italy was thus as

cleared of the Germans as in the days of Napoleon.

The all-grasping mind of Napoleon made little difficulty in appropriating the states of others, even when neither cause nor pretext existed, and much more willingly did he seize on them when any plea was afforded him for the aggression: of this the King of Naples had proof, to his utter ruin. Ferdinand had, as we have related, promised neutrality; but, just as the war was decided in favour of the French in Germany and Upper Italy, the month of November drawing towards its close, there arrived in the Gulf of Naples two English fleets, with much treasure and 15,000 soldiers on board, among whom were 12,000 Russians from Corfu, and 3,000 English from Malta. Soldiers, arms, and ammunition, were landed between Naples and Portici; and the intention was declared, not only of protecting the kingdom of Naples, but of marching to the assistance of the Austrians. The King, not duly considering what the future consequence of this might be to him, made no effort, nor even protested against the debarkation of these enemies of

France. The ambassador of Napoleon, highly incensed at seeing the ensigns of the enemy, took down the Imperial arms from the front of his palace, and, demanding his passports, abandoned, as he said, the faithless land, and pursued his way to Rome. In order to appease him, the government issued an edict, promising to the French, Italians, Ligurians, and the other nations of the French empire, the security of their property and commerce. This measure was taken in vain, because no protestation was made against the landing of the confederates, nor any displeasure expressed at a circumstance that France so deeply resented. The effects which resulted from this, and which for many years deprived Ferdinand of the kingdom of Naples, shall presently be related.

Napoleon gained a pitched battle in the field of Austerlitz. The Russian auxiliaries being defeated, Austria was so entirely prostrated, that she was constrained to accept of the hardest conditions. The treaty was ratified at Presburg, in Hungary, on the 26th of December. The Emperor of Germany and Austria gave his con-

sent to the union of the Italian territories. He acknowledged the dispositions made by the Emperor of France, with respect to Lucca and Piombino; he acknowledged the Emperor of France as King of Italy, with this condition, that, on a general peace, according to the promises of Napoleon, the two crowns should be separated, and never at any future period be re-united. To the same Emperor of France he gave up all the states of the ancient republic of Venice, which had been ceded to Austria by the treaty of Campo Formio, and consented to their union with the kingdom of Italy. He acknowledged, in the Dukes of Bavaria and Wirtemburg, the rank and title of King; he ceded to the former, besides several districts on the banks of the Danube, the Tyrol, comprehending the principalities of Briscia, of Bolzano, and the seven lordships of Vorarlberg, and various other fiefs on the shores of the lake of Constance. On his side, the Emperor Napoleon guaranteed the integrity of the empire of Austria; consented that Saltzburg, already given to the Archduke Ferdinand of Tuscany, should be united to the same

empire; and pledged himself to employ his influence with the King of Bavaria to yield Witzburg to the Archduke, in compensation for Saltzburg.

The treaty was put in execution: Venice and her ancient territory, after having been eight years under the domination of Austria, passed under that of France. Law Lauriston took possession of it on the part of the king of Italy. He consoled and encouraged the Venetians, promising them prosperity, and calling them sons of Napoleon; admirable consolation for evils of such magnitude! On the 19th of January, the soldiers of Napoleon arrived at Venice, to establish the third slavery it was to endure. This task was assigned to Miollis, who seemed destined to aggrieve Italy, alike by arbitrary acts and glozing words. On the 3d of February, the Viceroy Eugene, recently married to the Princess Amelia of Bavaria, arrived at Venice. The customary rejoicings took place, which, whether procured by force, or produced by obsequiousness, tended to excite compassion rather than mirth.

At this time, the ruin of Naples became imminent. The victorious Napoleon resolved to satisfy at once his ambition and his vengeance. Already his intentions had been made public, in an address to his soldiers issued at the close of the preceding year:—"For ten years I have done every thing that was possible on my part to save the King of Naples; and for ten years he has laboured to the utmost for his own destruction. After the battles of Dego, of Mondovi, and of Lodi, he possessed little power to resist me. The battle of Marengo dissolved the second league:—the King had been the very first to begin the war. Abandoned by his allies at Luneville, he was left alone and defenceless: he implored the pardon which I granted. Already on the confines of Naples, you had the kingdom at your mercy. I suspected treachery; vengeance was in my power: yet I was again restrained by generosity, and I commanded you to retire from the kingdom. Three times has the royal house of Naples owed to me its salvation. Shall I, a fourth time, pardon a court which knows no faith, no honour, no prudence? No; the reign of the Neapolitan

family ceases; its possession of the crown is incompatible both with the repose of Europe and with my honour. Go! march forward, and precipitate into the waves those feeble battalions of the tyrants of the sea, if, indeed, they can summon courage to await your arrival. Go! and shew to the world how we punish the perjured. Go! and so act that it shall quickly see that Italy is ours, and that the most beautiful country of the earth has shaken from its neck the yoke of perfidious men. Go! and show that the sanctity of treaties is avenged,—that the shades of my soldiers, who had survived the perils of shipwrecks, of deserts, and of a hundred battles, only to be assassinated in the ports of Sicily, on their return from Egypt, are avenged and appeased. My brother, the participator of my power—the participator of my councils, will be your leader; confide in him, as perfectly as I do."

These harsh and haughty words of the terrible conqueror of Austerlitz were followed by actions in accordance with their spirit. His brother Joseph marched against the kingdom of Naples

with a powerful army. Napoleon, knowing him to be irresolute, and accustomed to allow himself to be governed by others, had sent Massena with him to share and support his councils. Ferdinand endeavoured to disperse the storm, by sending Cardinal Ruffo to the enraged sovereign to excuse the fact of the debarkation. Commanding him to allege that he had been too weak and the allies too strong for him to have prevented it; he besought peace, promised compensation, and offered security. Nor did the King perceive that Napoleon was more influenced by ambition than by revenge; for, as to the debarkation, that might have been atoned for by cessions of territory, or payments in money, without striking at the root, and totally upsetting the kingdom; and, as for the shades of the soldiers, Napoleon had, since their murder, entered into friendship with the King; which showed in what estimation he held their blood, and how much he was affected by their "shades:" nor is it easy to imagine why the King sent Cardinal Ruffo to propitiate Napoleon, except that perhaps he thought that, from a certain similarity of disposition between

them, they were likely to agree. Napoleon showed himself inexorable—Naples pleased him; he was preparing regal thrones for his brothers: his cupidity excited him to form everywhere states that should be entirely dependant on himself.

When Ferdinand was informed of the fiat of Napoleon, he shut himself up with his counsellors to deliberate on the exigency of the case. They were unwilling to abandon the kingdom, and wished that the Russians and English should oppose the French in the passes of the Abbruzzi, and thus close the entrance of the kingdom against them. But the Emperor Alexander, anxious for the safety of his own soldiers, the enterprise being also very doubtful, sent an express courier to command their instant embarkation and return to Corfu. The retreat of the Russians, who formed the major part of the allied squadron, obliged the English also to embark. Both the one and the other accordingly departed—those for Corfu, and these for Sicily, leaving Ferdinand to utter ruin. Seeing that the destruction of the kingdom could not now even

be delayed for the shortest period, the council decided that the King should retire to Sicily, taking with him the royal family, the ministers, and as many soldiers and as much treasure as he could. Already the enemy menaced from Ferentino—already drew near to invade the provinces. It was further resolved that the King's eldest son should repair to Calabria, to animate that warlike population, always devoted to whomsoever would most fiercely excite them. In this ruined and bleeding province, Count de Damas was stationed with some battalions of regular troops; and it was hoped that the people would join them, and keep alive the name of the King, until some fortunate circumstance should permit his restoration. Ferdinand left his regal seat on the 23d of January. Thus ended his reign at that time; a reign which, owing to the licentiousness of the times, had been full of lamentable events and atrocious deeds. But not with his reign did deeds of cruelty cease, as if it were the decree of fate that the effusion of blood should be eternal in Naples, whether it were a kingdom or a republic—whether foreigners from England,

or foreigners from France, exercised dominion over it.

Ferdinand set out for Sicily on board the Archimedes, and a regency was appointed, consisting of General Naselli, the Prince of Canosa, Don Michael Angelo Cianciulli, and Don Dominic Sofia. The city was agitated by fearful apprehensions; the populace, the French, and the Calabrians were equally dreaded. This terror was much increased by a tumult amongst the prisoners of the seraglio, and if their design had succeeded, the city would have been laid in ruins. In the mean time, the French were marching to take possession of it. Breathing vengeance against the court, but promising kindness to the people, if they submitted, Joseph Buonaparte advanced rapidly to the capital. Regnier, on the right, marched along the shore, meeting with no obstacle in any place, except at Gaieta, a citadel of some strength from its situation, and then in the custody of that valiant soldier, the Prince of Hesse. He disdained the summons to surrender, and the French attacked and took the bastion of St. Andrew, though not without loss. The other

party defended themselves bravely, but the numbers of the French being so great, they left a division, to reduce the city, and passed on. Massena marched to the left, and meeting with no impediment whatever, for Capua had already submitted, arrived under the walls of the much coveted city, on the 14th of February:—the four castles, Novo, Dell Uovo, Del Carmine, and St. Elmo, all surrendered. Duhesme entered, in the first instance, with a select body of light troops, both cavalry and infantry; and, on the following day, Joseph made his entry on horseback, with a large suite of general officers, and with a magnificent train of soldiers, in the finest order. He dismounted at the regal palace, which presented but a melancholy spectacle, stripped as it had been by the fugitives. On the 16th, he visited the church of San Januarius, and, after the celebration of mass by Cardinal Ruffo, he presented the saint with gifts, the first fruits of his future reign. Returning to the palace, he gave audience to the magistrates, received the regency of Naselli courteously, yet quickly superseded it by creating another, of which he appointed Saliceti

president. There were in subjugated Italy certain persons who were always in power—Vignolle, Menou, Miollis, Saliceti; some from the favour of Napoleon towards them, others from his aversion to their presence. To raise money, the old taxes were continued, and others laid on; to secure tranquillity, the citizens were deprived of arms, and threats of military execution were issued against those who should venture to retain them. Such threats, so often made, and even put in execution by all parties, prove what it must have been to live in Italy at that period.

In the mean time, Calabria was not quieted. The Duke of Calabria, with a body of soldiers which had accompanied him from Naples, joined Count Roger de Damas, who, with a squadron composed of Sicilian, German, and Neapolitan soldiers, and a mixture of adventurers, some of good character, and some of the worst description, occupied a fortified camp on the banks of the Silo, in the principality of Salerno; where he burned the bridge, and stationed his troops on the banks. As the case seemed of consequence, Regnier was sent against him, and attacked the Neapolitans,

routed and pursued them as far as Sagonero. The royalists assembled again at Campotenese; Regnier came upon them on the 9th of March, and by one vigorous attack easily put them to flight. The Count with difficulty effected his escape, with a thousand soldiers, horse and foot. The victorious French penetrated into lower Calabria, occupied Reggio, and garrisoned the fortress of Scilla, at the point of Italy which is nearest to Sicily, and which thus became a check and a source of alarm to the English, who were assembled in Messina for the defence of the island.

By the victory of Campotenese, the whole body of Neapolitans under Rosenheim were made prisoners. Rodio, who had witnessed the military feats of Cardinal Ruffo, and who had fought with him and for him, was strenuously pursued by Lecchi, and taken in the mountains of Pomarico. Regnier hoped also to take Michael Pezzo, called brother Beelzebub * by the populace, an utter reprobate, who had been sent from Palermo to raise the people; but his own intre-

* Fra Diavolo.

pidity, and his knowledge of the country, delivered him out of their hands, and he escaped to Gaeta. Many of his followers, robbers and cruel murderers like himself, were taken in the mountains of Rocca Guglielma, Monticelli, and Sant' Oliva, and were instantly put to death. On the other side, Duhesme penetrating into the Basilicata, chased the enemy from Bernarda and Torre, and entered Taranto, a city of importance from its position, being equally near to Corfu and Sicily. Some remains of the vanquished had assembled at Castrovillari, but were soon dispersed by Regnier. Here were taken one Tchudi and Ricci, soldiers of some reputation, and devoted to the cause of the king. On the dispersion of the regulars, there sprung up in Calabria, partly from dislike to the change of government, partly from the instigations of the Sicilian court, partly from love of revenge, and desire of plunder, detached bands of soldiers, and men of infamous lives, who desolated the provinces with blood and rapine. In these horrible commotions, the man of property lost all; he who had nothing acquired wealth;—the good only suffered, the

wicked triumphed. The natural ferocity of men living still almost in a savage state, was stimulated by men to whom ferocity had become customary. The mischief was infectious, and raged on every side. Reports prevailed that the Queen fomented these disturbances, which is true, as far as concerns military affairs and the insurrectionary chiefs, but not as to the troops of brigands and the excesses they committed. The French and their partisans encouraged these rumours, and gave them support, with the idea of thus disseminating rancour and hatred against the government they had driven away. Owing to these circumstances, not only did the desire of Ferdinand's restoration daily diminish in the minds of the peaceable part of the population, and amongst men of property, but also their aversion to the government of the French, being convinced of what was really the truth, that, at once powerful and energetic, they would put an end to this riot of robbers and assassins. Napoleon was not ignorant of these sentiments; and, believing this to be the propitious moment to execute the design he had long

formed, he named Joseph King of the two Sicilies; annexing the customary condition that the two crowns of France and of Naples should never be worn by the same head. The nobles consented, the people fawned; Caroline of Sicily alone was uncontaminated by the general weakness, compensating by the boldness of her character for its fierceness. On this account Napoleon called her Fredegonda, while she called him the murderer of princes, and the Corsican tyrant. Yet in the end even she submitted to him, not from servility, not from abjectness of soul, but from hatred against the English: because, as we shall relate in its own place, a time arrived in which, disdaining a power which was shackled by the restraints of English dictation, she desired, as more conformable to her nature, the absolute sway approved by Napoleon, and therefore determined to enter into alliance with him. The elevation of Joseph to the throne of Naples excited some joy in the kingdom; but more among the nobles than the people. There were illuminations, salutes of artillery, fêtes, theatrical shows, songs, and sonnets as usual; and, as for

the sonneteers, those who had written most in favour of Caroline now wrote most in favour of Joseph. There were some things also which, though not unusual, were peculiarly unbecoming: the Marquis of Gallo, Ferdinand's Ambassador at Paris, turning suddenly round to follow the fortune of Napoleon, became the Ambassador of Joseph, and soon after his Minister for Foreign Affairs. So much do men, even the nobly born, prefer ambition to honour! The Duke of Santa Teodora, Ferdinand's Ambassador in Spain, did not show any more exalted spirit: a short time since he had been sent by him to oppose the victor, and now accepted an office in the court of Joseph. The mind of the Duke had certainly been exasperated by the execution of Caraccioli, his relation; but it would have been more honourable not to have accepted office under Ferdinand, than not to have kept faith with him. Cardinal Ruffo exultingly received Joseph under the canopy of state. The age has seen Cardinal Maury betray the Bourbons of France to prostrate himself before Napoleon; it has seen Cardinal Ruffo abandon the Bourbons of Naples to

bow before Joseph.* They excused themselves by saying that they preferred things to persons; this will be easily conceded to them by every one. All have erred—popes, emperors, kings, cardinals, bishops, priests, nobles, and people. At least, the great may learn not to judge of man by a scale of perfection which does not exist in the world, and to recognise their own weakness in that of others. But such is the pride of human nature, that whoever has most power persuades himself that he has also most worth; and such its perversity, that some believe that, by punishing the transgressions of others, they consign their own to oblivion. Turkey itself, which Napoleon had

* To the military talents and personal courage of Cardinal Ruffo Ferdinand had been indebted for his restoration in 1799. The Cardinal headed the royalists himself, and suffered them to commit the most horrible atrocities; but, though often cruel, and sometimes mean in the vengeance he inflicted on the opposite party (as in the instance of his ordering Cimarosa's favourite violoncello to be broken to pieces, because the republicans had persuaded him, or forced him, to set a revolutionary hymn to music), Ruffo was faithful to his engagements, and deeply resented the perfidy of the court in violating the capitulation he had granted to the insurgents of Naples.—*Tr.*

wished to deprive of its Egyptian granary, flattered him. On the day of Joseph's accession, the Turkish envoy at Naples displayed on the façade of his palace this motto amidst a blaze of light, in Turkish and French, "*the east recognises the hero of the age.*" True it is, that this adulation was rather French and Neapolitan than Turkish. Napoleon laughed at these flatteries, and more than ever despised the human race.

The victories of Lagonero and of Campotenese having routed the royal forces in Calabria, the whole country, with the exception of a few disdisturbed districts, had submitted to the French. Gaeta and Civitella di Tronto alone held out. The King had little hopes of success, although he knew that there were not wanting seeds of ill will towards the new monarch, unless he could procure the landing of a strong force of regular English troops in Calabria. But Sir John Stuart, who had succeeded Craig in the command of the British troops in Sicily, was very averse to any expedition on the terra firma, and continued to keep his quarters in Messina. The chief object of the English, he thought, should be the conservation

of Sicily, and he was aware, that if any expedition to the main land should prove unsuccessful, it would endanger the island, and even if prosperous, could not prove of any ultimate advantage, in consequence of the excessive preponderance of the French. A fortunate commander would gain no praise, while an unfortunate one would meet with great censure. Just at this time there arrived in Sicily a man who delighted in daring enterprises. This was Sir Sidney Smith, who, having arrested the successful career of Buonaparte in the east, had persuaded himself that he should be able to do so in the west also. Stimulated by his own temper, by the entreaties of Ferdinand, and by the instigations of the Queen, who could not live unless she could recover what had been wrested from her, he continually urged Stuart to hazard the attempt; but the prudence of the one overcame the boldness of the other, and nothing was determined on. Sir Sidney then resolved to try what impression he could make with the maritime forces alone, in order to show Stuart that matters were more favourably disposed than he believed.

To this intent he left Sicily with some large ships of war, and a number of transports, intending to visit the coasts of Naples. His chief objects were, first, to re-inforce Gaeta; and, secondly, to supply Calabria with arms and ammunition. The former object he accomplished, and left some small frigates in the port to co-operate in the defence. He took the Island of Capri, the possession of which rendered him master of the Gulf of Naples. As occasion offered, he coasted along towards the south; and, appearing now here, now there, by his presence, by his exhortations, and by the supplies he furnished, kept alive the name of Ferdinand. He found the people in this quarter favourably disposed, but unequal to act without foreign assistance. He then returned to Sicily, and by the earnestness of his exhortations prevailed on the prudent Stuart to hazard an expedition to this harassed and disturbed province. In the beginning of July he landed about five thousand soldiers on the coast of the Gulf of St. Eufemia. He called on the people to rise, but with little effect,—and such being the coldness of the inhabitants, he was in doubt

whether he should immediately embark, or continue on the terra firma, when he received intelligence that Regnier, with a body about four thousand strong, was encamped, at Maida, ten miles from the coast: he heard, at the same time, that a reinforcement of three thousand men was hastening to join Regnier, as the debarkation of the English was already known in the neighbourhood. He resolved, therefore, to attack the enemy before the second body of troops should join him. The French general was encamped on the side of a woody hill, above the village of Maida, which commanded the plain of St. Eufemia: thick woods secured his flanks; in front flowed the river Amato, which, though every where fordable, yet, from the marshes on its banks, it would have been difficult for the English to pass.

The position of Regnier was, as we see, strong, nay, almost impregnable; and, if he had there awaited the attack of the enemy, his victory would have been certain. It must be remarked, that it was impossible for the English long to remain where they were, as the country, abound-

ing in marshes, emitted, more especially in the summer season, pestilential exhalations, producing mortal disorders. But Regnier, either too confident in himself, or judging too meanly of the enemy, consented to commit to the arbitration of fortune an event otherwise certain: he descended, therefore, from the favouring hill, crossed the fatal river, and advanced into the perilous plain. Perhaps, besides his confidence in himself and his troops, who were in fact brave men, he was further tempted by the consideration of having some squadrons of cavalry, which the English were destitute of. He was now joined by the three thousand, and this increased the confidence of the French: the English advanced to meet them; the two rival nations hasted to the struggle.

On the 6th of July the battle commenced with some irregular skirmishing between the light-armed troops: then began the contest of the heavy troops—they fired a few volleys of musketry; then, urged by rivalry, and impatient of fighting at a distance, they rushed on each other with fixed bayonets. The *melée* was terrible;

the French were impetuous, the English steady. The former, either because they had believed they were advancing to secure an easy victory, and were therefore appalled by the unexpected resistance, or by some other circumstance, began, after a short struggle hand to hand, to give way, especially on the left, and then actually fled. The English, quickly pursuing and fiercely pressing on them, made no small slaughter of the fugitives. Regnier strove to regain the day by a charge of cavalry on the left of the enemy; but the English made such an immoveable resistance with their muskets and bayonets, that he was obliged to desist. He then strove, since the attack in the front of the line proved so fruitless, to turn this same wing of the English with the cavalry, and attacking it in flank and rear to put its ranks in disorder. Already had the cavalry circled round the enemy, and the contest became full of peril to the English, when a fresh regiment from Messina, which had just landed at St. Eufemia, arrived on the field, and placing itself behind a slight shelter which the ground afforded, made head against the cavalry, and by

an incessant fire not only arrested their progress, but forced them to retreat in some disorder. On this Regnier's troops fled in confusion, every one seeking safety for himself as he best could, regardless of discipline or order. The victory of the English was complete. Regnier erred in having descended to the plain; he erred also in having too much extended his line. Seven hundred of the French fell on the field, two thousand fell into the hands of the victors, part on the field of battle, the rest at Monteleone, whither they had retired. The victory was adorned by the capture of General Compere. Of the fugitives, who were in considerable numbers, many falling into the hands of the Calabrians were cruelly massacred; a few, brought captive to General Stuart, were saved.

The victory of Maida caused a new rising of the Calabrians. They murdered in a barbarous manner all that fell into their hands; while the French, on their side, irritated against men who violated every usage of civilized society, sacked and burned the districts that rose against them, slaughtering the inhabitants, without respect to

age or sex. All Calabria was desolated by fire and sword. The French were obliged to retire: the insurgents, become masters of the coasts, established themselves firmly, in the principal places which afforded them communication with Sir Sidney Smith, who, in this affair, proved himself most active; and being furnished by him with arms and ammunition, they passed them into the interior, and thus continually fed the direful conflagration. Amantea, Scalca, and the Isle of Dina, on the coast of Upper Calabria, were held by the Calabrese; Maratea, Sapei, Camerota, Palinuro, and other districts of the gulf of Polecastro, also obeyed them. They were a crowd of cruel reprobates, nor is it possible to praise those who excited them; both chiefs and followers were for the most part villains. *Pane di Grano*, one of the first, was an infamous priest, condemned for his crimes to the gallies; *Fra Diavolo*, whose fury raged nearer to Naples, was a man convicted of many robberies and murders; and, under these, other thieves and assassins enlisted themselves. The English were unable to restrain their ferocity, although General

Stuart humanely endeavoured to his utmost to do so. Whenever they could, the French severely revenged themselves, opposing fury to fury, and cruelty to cruelty.

The triumph of Maida was but of short duration: the Napoleonists were strengthened anew. Assassins are but bad allies. The English commander retired to Sicily, leaving only a garrison in the fort of Scilla, of which he had become master.

The siege of Gaeta become more vigorous. Already for several months the Prince of Hesse had bravely defended the city, before whose walls many worthy Frenchmen fell; amongst others General Vallelongue, a man in whom benevolence and probity, science and military virtue, were all equally conspicuous: the Prince, seriously wounded, was removed to Sicily. The besiegers prevented sorties by a trench cut from the shore of Mola to the other extremity of the isthmus. By means of the batteries they prevented succours by sea; a large breach was opened in the wall of the citadel almost at the foot of the counterscarp. The terrible grenadiers of France

were prepared for the assault, and the fortress was surrendered on the 18th of July. In this affair General Campredon showed great skill in the art of conducting sieges, and to him was Napoleon indebted for the reduction of Gaeta; he only complained, being one who always acted the pedant in military matters, in order to make others try to do better than well, that Campredon, in effecting it, had consumed too much powder.

The acquisition of Gaeta much improved the situation of the French in the kingdom. The strong body of troops which had been employed in the siege were sent to recover Calabria. The name of Massena was much feared, and therefore the command was given to him. He was intrusted with authority to render the terror his name excited efficient for his purpose. Joseph declared Calabria in a state of insurrection. The authorities, civil and military, were to be placed in subordination to Massena: he created a military commission for the dispatch of justice, whose sentences were to be executed without appeal within twenty-four hours. The soldiers lived at the expence of the disturbed districts; the pro-

perty of the brigands, and of the heads of the rebels, was confiscated; the goods of absentees also were held to be forfeited; those found in arms, unless enrolled in the provincial guards, were put to death; the convents which did not denounce such of their brotherhood as were offenders, were to be suppressed. Massena set out on his commission.

On both sides extraordinary cruelties were committed; Lavria, Sicignano, Abetina, and Strongoli were burned. The Napoleonists slew the Calabrese in battle, in the woods, in the tribunals: the Calabrese massacred the Napoleonists in the houses, in secret snares, in open combat. Fury produced slaughter—slaughter excited rage anew; civilized men became barbarians, the uncivilized became doubly barbarous. The Calore, the principal stream, into which were thrown in heaps the bodies of the slain, carried to the sea the ensanguined signs of the brutal rage of man. The carnage lasted a long time; at last, the discipline and the organized plans of the Napoleonists prevailed: fear and executions subdued, but did not quiet the

province; similar horrors sometimes broke out in one place, sometimes in another, a manifest proof that the excesses of hatred and rage are not to be prevented by the sword of the executioner. Nor could Joseph ever subdue Calabria, although he tried the severest remedies, and sometimes also the effect of mildness, by pardoning. The circumstances I have already related are horrible, but greater horrors still remain for me to relate, if I should be permitted to finish this narration, by which it will be seen, that if severity and mercy alternately failed to procure the pacification of Calabria, unmixed cruelty effected it at last. The Calabrese were a ferocious race, that could not be reduced to peace except by extermination.

Faithless counsels, treacherous acts, and a barbarous war ensanguined one coast of the Adriatic, and similar circumstances reduced the other to a similar state; such were the lamentable results of the treachery committed in the states of Venice. The mouths of the Cattaro, the most secure station for ships on the coast of the Adriatic, had been ceded to the French by

the treaty of Campo Formio, in possession of which they were to be put at the expiration of six weeks from that date. At the end of this period, as the French officers did not appear to take possession of it, an agent of Russia excited the people of the Bocchetta, and the Montenegrines, a savage race, inhabiting the neighbouring mountains, who were favourably inclined towards his cause, as being also of th Greek church, to rise in arms, persuading them that as the French had not appeared at the appointed time the treaty was cancelled, and the country in their own hands. The Austrian commandant of Castelnuovo, however, understood the matter differently, and desired to maintain the treaty. At this juncture, the Marquis of Ghislieri, the Austrian commissioner, arrived to make the cession; but, instead of executing his duty, he consented to withdraw his troops from the country (for the French were already close at hand), leaving it in possession of the natives of the Montenegro and the Russians. The Austrian commandants very unwillingly retired from the country, and indignantly protested against the

violation of the treaty, nor was the court of Vienna less indignant on the subject. The Marquis was condemned to perpetual imprisonment in a fortress of Transylvania.

This breach of faith at Cattaro occasioned a second at Ragusa, of which the French, not succeeding at Cattaro, took possession; no excuse for enmity existed against this peaceful and blameless republic, but it was occupied under the pretext of defending it against the inroads of the Montenegrines. And certainly Napoleon's soldiers did defend Ragusa, that is to say, the town, for the Montenegrines committed horrible ravages in the territory. But Napoleon suppressed the republic, and united it to the kingdom of Italy—a strange mode of preserving it. A diversified war took place: Lauriston besieged in Ragusa by the Montenegrines, was succoured by Molitor, who defeated them, and drove them back to their mountains. Yet here they still presented a menacing aspect, and infested the country by their continual inroads But Marmont having induced them, by his military stratagems, to descend to the plain, destroyed

with dreadful carnage their whole force. This war was horrible; the Montenegrines massacred their prisoners, and threw their heads in amongst the ranks of their shuddering companions. The Napoleonists followed the Montenegrines to their mountains, and when they could not take them, owing to their concealing themselves in their dens, they drove them out with fire and smoke, as if they had been wild beasts, and slaughtered them without compassion.

The vain glorious Dandolo, who had been appointed purveyor-general of Dalmatia by Napoleon, chaunted these victories in a boastful strain. And truly nothing was wanting to the scandalous inconsistencies of the age, after seeing Pesaro an Austrian commissary at Venice, but to see Dandolo Napoleon's purveyor in Dalmatia.

END OF VOL. I.

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